INAUGURATION DAY IN DES MOINES CLYMER

THE NATION

FEBRUARY 5, 1977 *60 cents*

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Spain Returns To the Ballot Box

BARBARA KOEPPEL

SWEEPING UP THE ALIENS ***Mark Day***

ISSUES IN THE THERAPEUTIC SOCIETY
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LETTERS

the fair majority

Norman, Okla.

Stephen Gillers's excellent article, "The Dilemma of Making Amends" [*The Nation*, Dec. 25], concisely presents many thorny problems involved in "reverse discrimination" in college (and especially law and medical school) admissions. I add three comments:

(*1*) Gillers states that "Members of minority groups . . . say that, for a limited time *at least*, society should make up for past discrimination by granting them certain preferences." (My emphasis.) Presumably no responsible spokesman for any group would believe such preferential treatment should continue forever. As Mr. Justice Holmes was aware, forever is a very long time. If such reverse discrimination is valid for only a "limited time," the Court must some day decide how long. . . . This difficult decision need not be made with all deliberate speed.

(*2*) As Gillers says, the "majority" is made up principally of various other minorities. If Indians (Amerinds) are to be grouped with blacks as a favored minority, what about the descendants of those Indian tribes which formerly held slaves? Possibly their history should place (all?) Indians in a precisely measured, less favorable, preferred position than is assigned to blacks.

(*3*) At least for the past generation there has been only one indisputable majority in the United States—females. But for the first half of our federal existence were not females routinely excluded from many professional schools? If females are not also to have a preferred position, is it unconscionable to go further and discriminate against a majority of that majority in favor both of a minority of the male minority and the black minority of the female majority? Or should female blacks be preferred over male blacks, since for many years the former were excluded on one more ground than the latter?

Thorny questions, and we must brave the thorns, if we would grasp the rose.

Elmer M. Million

Malraux's toast

New York City

Ernst Pawel errs when he writes that André Malraux raised a toast to Leon Trotsky in Moscow "at the height of the purges" [*The Nation*, Jan. 22]. Malraux's toast came in June 1934, according to the recent Malraux biographer Jean LaCouture (*André Malraux*, Pantheon), during one of the International Congresses of Culture in Moscow, where anti-fascism was the overriding theme. The purges did not begin until 1935 after Kirov's assassination in December 1934. When the Moscow Trials began in 1936, Malraux refused to discuss them. "Just as the Inquisition did not affect the fundamental dignity of Christianity," he declared, "so the Moscow Trials have not diminished the fundamental dignity of communism." (Quoted in LaCouture, Isaac Deutscher's *Trotsky: The Prophet Outcast* and other places.) Malraux was always eloquent and often transcendent of his age. But during the purges, he merely reflected one side of that terrible incident as the world was plunging again toward the barbarism of total war.

Lee Lowenfish

correction

We regret two typographical errors which appeared in our editorial, "Legacy of a Boss" [Jan. 1-8]: Richard Daley's middle initial is J, and he was Mayor of Chicago from 1955 to 1976. *The Editors*

The editors welcome letters from readers but regret that space limitations often prevent publication of those of more than 250 words.

EDITORIALS

A Hope and a Goal

Can it be that President Carter is moving toward a policy of unilateral disarmament for the United States? That would truly be the "unthinkable" deed in the world of force, self-interest and brute inertia which he would have to overcome to make even a gesture toward rationality in the matter of great-power nuclear confrontation.

Yet this speculation may not be pure fantasy. On his fourth day in office he refined his Inaugural statement that "our ultimate goal" is the "elimination of all nuclear weapons from this earth." On being asked during an interview with the national press services whether that statement was "a hope or a goal," he replied that it was "a hope *and* a goal." And he not only linked aims and means, he also went into considerable detail on the succession of steps that would be required.

These would include, said the President, "a much more substantive reduction in atomic weapons" even before the SALT II agreement with the Russians was reached. It is clear that he wishes to go beyond a mere resumption of these talks; he would also move rapidly toward concrete actions outside the framework of those formal negotiations. The first of these would be to stop all nuclear testing, including underground explosions, "instantly and completely."

Are we entitled to hope that Carter has recognized that, since it will take months, even years, to move decisively on such domestic matters as the economy and health insurance, his "hundred days" of relatively uninhibited action can best, or perhaps only, be devoted to progress in the area of peace or war? It would be unwise for the American people to fantasize about the likelihood that he has made this choice, or about his chances for success if he has so determined. But there are signs in these early days that this may have been his decision.

If that is the case, the term "breakthrough" may not be excessive. For there are indications that the Russian leadership is so positioned that it cannot refuse to respond positively to the serious overtures Carter seems to have in mind. Moscow's European satellites have never been more restless than they now are. To stifle these discontents on its borders, and the rising dissidence at home, the USSR should welcome a respite in the arms race that would allow it to devote more energy to nonmilitary production.

The alternative for the Russians is the continued strain of a military buildup, which our own breed of born-again cold warriors has just been telling us is aimed at a military victory over the United States. Never mind "overkill" (is it now twenty or fifty times that our nuclear weapons can destroy every person, every creature, in the USSR?). The gloomy James Schlesingers, Paul Nitzes and General Keegans keep informing us that this margin is not enough to deter the Russians.

If ever a circle was "vicious," this one is. And like all circles it has no end. The only way to break it is for us or for them to act unilaterally, without waiting for a quid pro quo. While it awaited that response from its partner

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in this dance of death, the United States would still, and for years, have at its disposal the unchallengeable ability to inflict unacceptable losses on the adversary.

Can it be that President Carter, the former nuclear engineer and Navy officer, has seen this reality and is prepared to take the political risks involved in acting on the principle that flows from it? In these early days of his Presidency we have been given reasons at least to entertain the notion that he has.

First Small Step

President Carter's pardon of the Vietnam draft evaders was a necessary first step, but no more than that. It fulfilled one of his campaign pledges, it was done immediately, and he acknowledged that this aspect of the national "healing," of which he spoke in his Inaugural Address, requires further steps in the days ahead.

Those are the virtues of the President's first official act. Its shortcomings are clear to anyone who has thought at all about what is really needed to bind up the self-inflicted wounds of our national misadventure in Indochina. Briefly, they are that the pardon covers only a few thousand young men who come from the educated middle class, the group that was best placed to protect itself. Left uncovered by Carter's pardon are the hundreds of thousands of "mainly working-class members of minority groups," as *Time* put it (January 31). The inadequacy and inequity of this first step is apparent.

In his campaign statements on this issue Carter repeatedly emphasized that he was far more concerned for the less fortunate youths who lacked the means and sophistication to escape the draft in that dreadful war by flight into higher education or to Sweden or Canada. There is therefore great irony, and yet paradoxical ground for hope, in the fact that it is the lucky few who are beneficiaries of the present act of pardon. The hope must be that, since Carter himself recognizes the inadequacy of this first step, he will move quickly to extend the healing process to the much larger group that was injured in the military machine which fought that disastrous war.

It was probably inevitable, but odd nonetheless, that Carter should ask the Pentagon to review once again, on a "case-by-case" basis, the tens of thousands of less-than-honorable discharges given to the "poor and dumb" victims of that machine, to use the language of a member of the so-called Clemency Board set up by President Ford. Nothing sensible, certainly nothing humane or healing, can be expected from that brass-bound quarter.

The military establishment has made it clear that it will do little or nothing to reverse all those judgments which resulted in bad-conduct discharges. It looks on this grave national political problem from the narrow viewpoint of bureaucrats concerned only with rigidly defined military discipline. Its only worry is that, if it shows anything like human understanding or compassion in reviewing these cases, it will have problems when and if the draft is reinstituted, as it surely would be in any imaginable war. The men whom the President has asked to reconsider their harsh and wrongly based judgments undoubtedly agree with Senator Goldwater, who absurdly

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characterized the Carter pardon as "the most disgraceful thing that a President has ever done."

So we may expect from the case-by-case reviewers in uniform a cold and leisurely shuffling of the dossiers of these tens of thousands of young men who were caught in the war machine and who came out of it gravely injured in their ability to lead normal and productive lives (their disadvantages in the job market are statistically impressive, and depressing). During the Nixon-Ford years there was no pressure on the Pentagon to adopt humane or sensible standards for upgrading these bad discharges. President Carter now has a chance to correct that situation and, as Commander in Chief, to insist on altogether different standards of judgment. That kind of pressure would soon reveal the military's intractability on the issue. It would demonstrate, perhaps even to the Goldwaters of this world, that the question at issue is a deeply political one, transcending the narrow confines of military discipline.

Having thus shown the stubborn wrongness of those who refuse to right the balance on the aftereffects of Vietnam here at home, Carter would then be in a position to scrap the case-by-case method and to broaden, categorically, the granting of pardons and the clearing of the records of whole classes of American victims of Vietnam. The healing that Carter has promised the nation could then really begin. The public that elected him has a right to expect that he will follow this course.

Mrs. Gandhi Changes Trains

By all indications spring has come early to India. Mrs. Gandhi has just relaxed press censorship, speeded the release of political prisoners—including some of her most important opponents—and declared that nationwide parliamentary elections are to be held in March. All the measures are incomplete: only "recognized parties" will be allowed to contest the election, freedom of assembly is restricted, censorship laws remain on the books, with reporters now urged to exercise "responsibility," i.e., to censor themselves. And Gandhi's move obviously was based on her calculation that, with the state of emergency still in effect, the opposition crippled by its experiences of recent months, and herself in control of the electoral process, she will win a victory that in the eyes of Indians and the world will legitimate her Bonapartist style.

Critics who were horrified when Mrs. Gandhi "destroyed the world's largest democracy" will no doubt be cheered by India's early spring, and certainly the restoration of even partial democratic rights is to be welcomed. But democracy in the abstract has never meant much in India, nor can it be predicted when it will. A much more pertinent question is: democracy for whom? The Congress Party's democratically acquired power was always used on behalf of established interests, and when that power was threatened the democratic trappings were quickly discarded. Despite the obfuscatory fog of concern for the nation that Mrs. Gandhi created around her adventure in dictatorship—the crackdowns on corruption, the birth-control drive, her party's hypocritical identification with socialism—it is clear that her move was to the Right, and to the benefit of big business.

In a *New York Times* article on January 15, an Indian economist and former government official (writing anonymously for obvious reasons) pointed out that Gandhi's vaunted economic successes are largely illusory. She has been lucky to preside over two good harvests, but inflation is again accelerating and little of the plentiful grain has reached the poor. "Direct and indirect tax concessions, liberalization of administrative controls, a more open-door policy to private multinational enterprises, the banning of strikes and the partial freezing of workers' wages have gladdened the hearts of industrialists and businessmen," writes the economist; and the fact that the World Bank smiles on all these moves further helps to measure Gandhian progress. India's tomorrow, if this path is followed, can be seen today in a dozen Third World countries: a repressive central government, steadily falling standards of living for the poor, and an export-based economy dependent on foreign investment and shackled by skyrocketing foreign debt.

Opposition leaders in India, fresh out of jail, are now making inflammatory statements in order to test the limits of Gandhi's tolerance. So far she has resisted their provocations, probably judging her current position impregnable. But the coming weeks will be critical for her. Periods of gradual liberalization frequently spawn convulsive popular uprisings, the recent riots in Egypt being the most immediate example. One must guess that Gandhi will succeed in her attempted metamorphosis from dictator back to democrat, but one cannot wish her well in the exercise. A Congress Party victory in March will result only in an India that is less "democratic," both politically and economically, than the one in existence before Gandhi moved so decisively to "protect the country" from the bankruptcy of her own policies.

Contagion of Liberty

If shuttling can weave a fabric of international serenity, the peoples of both our bloc and of the Russians' can rest easy. Seldom has there been as much high-level scurrying about to mend fences as is going on these days in both power systems. Vice President Mondale was off on his mission of "trilateral" reassurance to the major industrial powers almost before he knew where his office was. Secretary of State Vance will be heading for the Middle East in a matter of days. On the other side (where, of course, there has been no change of the guard) the traveling has been almost as extensive.

For the United States this haste to knit up alliances raveled by systematic neglect in the Kissinger years is natural enough, and it should not be hard to show results quite soon. The fundamental reasons for the Western alliance, and for good relations with Japan, remain what they were thirty years ago. All the United States need do is return to a policy that shows proper respect for our allies and their interests, along with a steadiness of purpose that does not need to be flamboyant to be effective.

The Russians are in a much more taxing situation; the centrifugal forces in their world are rising all the time. The problem is particularly acute in Eastern Europe where

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the burdens of Russian domination on those six countries outweigh any imaginable benefit—and visibly so to their people. In the most strategically placed of the satellites—Poland, East Germany and Czechoslovakia—the intellectual and managerial elites are in turmoil. They seek a kind of freedom which their Russian "allies" can hardly grant without risking the contagion of liberty in the motherland.

Kissinger was worried about this disaffection in Eastern Europe, having always had as his priority a world order in which plain liberty played a minor role. Hence the doctrine named after his assistant, Helmut Sonnenfeldt, which favored more "organic" relations between Moscow and the satellites. We would do nothing to encourage ideas of independence in that world. The Carter administration will have to deal with this risky situation, and one must trust that it will steer a prudent course between irresponsible provocation and blind timidity. That is no reason why its policy cannot include a great sympathy for the aspirations toward liberty of the Eastern Europeans.

Presidential Gimcracks

A letter from Vicki Rogers and Bardyl R. Tirana, who sign themselves "Co-Chairpersons" of the 1977 Inaugural Committee, informs us that until February 28 we have the opportunity to buy officially authorized commemoratives of that event—which mementos, the persons assure, will "most certainly be of enduring importance not only to you and your family but to future generations as well."

An accompanying brochure opens with the instructive statement: "Once every four years, an event of great importance and significance to all Americans takes place. The inauguration of the President of the United States." (Actually, in the recent past we have been inaugurating somewhat more frequently than that.) However, on the next page the text refers to the proceedings of last January 20 as a "unique event in the life of our nation"—it was, as it were, the unique observance of a tradition.

In some conflict with Mr. Carter's professed determination to be the President of all Americans (not a unique goal for our Chief Executives), the Inaugural Committee offers mementos for well-padded purses. They range from an 8-inch, sterling silver plate ($225) through a 24-karat, 1¼-inch gold medal ($200), medals in silver and bronze at $85 and $15, a crystal paperweight in a velvet-lined display case ($95) to a "Medallic/Postal Commemorative" ($19.50) containing three envelopes addressed to no one but postmarked on the great day at Washington, D.C., Plains, Ga. and Ceylon, Minn. (We checked *Who's Who* to confirm our hunch that this last is indeed the birthplace of Vice President Mondale, who is named nowhere in the brochure.) Each of the various offerings features the Official Inaugural Portrait of President Carter, by sculptor Julian Harris, "renowned and distinguished." It is hardly what one would call a speaking likeness, looking not much like Mr. Carter and a good deal like an idealized impression of Daniel Boone.

Inaugurations may be "auspicious occasions," as the booklet so strikingly puts it, but they are also desperately expensive, and desperate means must be employed to pay for them. Nevertheless, we commiserate with the President, who has muted the Marine Corps band, reduced the fleet of executive limousines and gone on foot to his new residence in an attempt to fend off the pomp that in the past has stifled the humanity of his high office. It is regrettable that the modest words with which he accepted the burdens of the Presidency should be associated with all these expensive, pompously huckstered gewgaws.

BACK WHERE CARTER STARTED

Inauguration Day in Des Moines

ADAM CLYMER

The Iowa Democratic caucuses of January 19, 1976 were the first tests of last year's Presidential primary season. Carter did well enough there to become a serious contender for his party's nomination, partly because of his successfully ambiguous position on the abortion issue. Adam Clymer wrote about that in The Nation *of February 7, 1976 ("Jimmy Carter's Candor"). He was then with* The Baltimore Sun *and is now a reporter in the Washington bureau of the New York* Daily News. *He went back to Iowa to watch the Carter Inauguration with some Carter supporters of a year ago.*

Des Moines

They liked his talk of God, and his grace in complimenting President Ford. They were moved by his stress on trust. His appeal for help from the people were what they wanted in a President, and they were pleased when he walked down Pennsylvania Avenue.

At Mike and Chick Kelly's house they took the Carter Inaugural on its own terms. They hoped he would see to it that the economy improved, but they weren't arguing about the size of tax cuts, or how far the unemployment rate should drop. They complained over doctor bills, for example, but they were not setting his timetable for health insurance. And, on Inauguration Day, no one was debating the scope of his Vietnam pardon or how many women he should hire for top jobs.

The Kellys had a dozen or so friends over for coffee, doughnuts, walnut cake and, after the ceremonies, a glass of Cold Duck. Most of them had been for Carter long before the nomination, and so this moment warranted keeping the kids home from school. They watched intently, and while no tears dropped there was a lot of blinking.

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When they talked about what they expected from Carter's Presidency, everyone stressed trustworthiness and respect for the office. When they talked about what they hoped for, they focused on accessibility, humanness, less pomp and ceremony. In this area they were less sure than on the trust matter and, again, they had no prescriptions. Kathy Comito said, "They say they're not going to play *Hail to the Chief* so much, but Betty Williams laughed and said, "Oh, yes, they will."

I was in Des Moines to listen to the Kellys and their friends because they have a claim on Carter, who says he owes nothing to the special interests (what about labor getting out the vote in November?), and everything to the people. A year and a day earlier, on January 19, 1976, the Kellys and Mrs. Comito and Mrs. Williams and no more than 15,000 other Iowans had trudged out on a cold night to give him his start toward the White House. They went to firehouses, schoolhouses and church halls, and voted for him in precinct caucuses.

Carter anticipated the attention the press would pay to those caucuses. There were enough of us from the "national press" so that the state Democratic Party charged people $10 to watch us file our stories, using the money to pay the costs of getting us the results to work from. By the time Carter and the press got through with Iowa's precinct caucuses, the former Georgia Governor (as we always called him—I don't remember reading "Jimmy Who?" except in Atlanta) was firmly established as a serious contender for the nomination. The *Des Moines Register* emphasized that the "uncommitted" category got more support than he did (38 to 28 per cent) but the rest of us, as Carter expected and planned, stressed that he had beaten Birch Bayh, Fred Harris, Morris Udall and Sargent Shriver. Iowa brought Carter the money and attention he badly needed then. Both were important to his success in New Hampshire, and the money and magazine covers that success commanded were essential for the victory over George Wallace he had to have in Florida.

I thought I could learn something by going back to Iowa, to see if they still liked Carter for the same reasons, and to hear what they thought of the Inauguration and what they expected of his Presidency.

None of the people who gathered at the Duffys on January 20 had been a big shot in Carter's Iowa campaign. The Duffys and their friends searched the television crowd shots for glimpses of big shots. They spotted Iowa coordinator Tim Kraft, now Carter's appointments secretary, but never could find their neighbors, Polk County auditor Jim Maloney and his wife, Sharon, who had borrowed Kathy Comito's blue dress for the Inaugural party. They were attentive, but not overly solemn. When CBS showed a church and someone identified it as the National Cathedral, Mike Duffy snorted, "Whose cathedral, the Baptists'?" But they listened hard, first to the invocation, then to the Inaugural Address, not interrupting or wisecracking or even commenting until they were over.

With two exceptions. When Carter promised to seek to banish nuclear weapons "from this earth," there was some soft applause, a single "yay," and Tom Higgins, a visiting state legislator from Davenport, talked like an editorial, saying, "That augurs well for the SALT talks." The other quick reaction was for Carter's tribute to President Ford in the opening words of the speech. There were murmurs of "superb" and "very gracious," and Mrs. Williams, speaking to Ford's image on the screen, said, "Don't cry."

Carter's speech was no more a triumph of oratory in Iowa than it was in most places. Mike Duffy admitted a slight disappointment that there was no "real zinger" of a quotable line in it. But that didn't matter. He was still sure of Carter. "I think he's like Kennedy. He'll be a President we can be proud of." Nobody disagreed.

But Carter doesn't have a free ride, even from these old supporters. Sheryl Simpson said she hoped Carter "isn't just putting it on" when he sounds religious. And Mrs. Comito said, "I wonder what we're all going to be thinking a year from today. I hope I don't believe him just because I want so badly to believe."

Some of them, it sounded to me, strained a bit to hear what they wanted to hear. Mary Louise Conley said she was struck by the way "he didn't emphasize the military" and Sharon Holz liked what she heard that confirmed her hope for Carter as an environmentalist.

These didn't sound like the worry one hears often in Washington—that Carter doesn't really have any deep beliefs, that his statements on issues are merely translations of what Pat Caddell's polls tell him people want to hear. (That, for example, was what the borrowing from Jerry Brown—"We have learned that 'more' is not necessarily 'better' . . ." sounded like to me.)

Instead, it seemed that, even in a state as clean and well-governed as Iowa, politicians of all kinds have earned a distrust that attaches in varying degrees to all of them. At the Kellys' house, Carter had a very strong benefit of the doubt, but no grant of immunity.

That seemed to be true even though this group had a singular advantage over any comparable bunch of people in Nebraska or New Jersey. (My crowd was all white, mostly in their late 30s, heavily Catholic—surely no microcosm of anything.) Because Iowa had mattered so much, Carter spent a lot of time there, and these were people who felt they knew him, because they had heard him a long time ago in settings—small groups—where he can be most effective. They had met him at the Maloneys' house, or been recognized when he campaigned at the van Ryswk farm in August. He had held 5-year-old Bridget Duffy's hand at the airport, but Mike had run out of film before that happened.

So when Mrs. Simpson listened to the Inaugural Address, Carter's confident manner reminded her "of the first time we heard him speak. Everyone was saying 'Jimmy who?' He was saying 'I will be President.' " Somebody else complained that he lacked "the charisma on TV that he had in person." Chick Kelly had told me beforehand that she was impressed with Carter the first time she heard him because he was "God-oriented." And he confirmed her feeling with his quotation from Micah: "He was back to the God image. I thought it was so neat."

When I got back to Washington, I learned from an article by a society writer for *The Washington Post* that I must have missed something. She analyzed the American

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dilemma over Carter: "A lot of Americans—not only those who live here in Washington—are confused. Confused because they are torn between their true feelings and what they think they ought to be feeling. . . . Americans have always had a sense of longing—however misplaced—for the royalty they never had. There is something about wanting to look up to someone. They like kings and queens, or at least the aura of titles and importance."

Maybe her "not only those who live here in Washington" meant only the better sections of McLean and Chevy Chase. It doesn't apply in Des Moines. At the Kellys' house, they wanted to look up to President Carter, all right. But because he could be trusted, because he had faith in God, because he would do something about the economy. Nobody minded the absence of top hats. They agreed that one picture they couldn't ever remember seeing, and wanted to see, was of a President in the rain, holding his own umbrella over his head.

Carter's aides talk about programs designed to keep him close to the people. The more they talk about it, the more we in the press will try to cover it, and the less of it will be real. But it's a more important goal than government reorganization.

Kathy Comito's favorite words in the speech were Carter's appeal to "laugh together." I'm damned if I know how he'll manage that. But in Des Moines the folks who were for Carter a long time ago want him to try. They won't be immune to reports of staff squabbles, failures in Congress, double talk about campaign promises on taxes or strip mining or defense spending or whatever. But as long as they are persuaded that Carter is trying to be straight, and trying to listen to the people, they'll stick with him. □

Spain Returns to the Ballot Box

BARBARA KOEPPEL

For the first time in almost forty years, the Spanish people now have a chance to vote in elections that do not have to be characterized as "free." It is no wonder, then, that millions of them queued up at the polls on December 15 to vote on a package of constitutional reforms presented by the provisional government named by King Juan Carlos and headed by Premier Adolfo Suárez. To this government the choice was simple—a vote of *"si"* meant "yes" to democracy; a vote of *"no"* meant still more years of the "Bunker" which, as its name implies, is the old guard, ultra-Right bastion of Francoism.

When the votes were counted, the government could scarcely conceal its delight. According to official figures, 77.4 per cent of eligible voters found their way to the polls; of these 94 per cent gave the government the nod. Given this support, the Premier magnanimously declared the results to have been a "victory for citizenship," with "neither victors nor vanquished." To be sure, the government had been out to win big, since it reasoned that the larger the vote, the greater its legitimacy. Its very life, as well as the prestige and future of the monarchy, at least in the short run, hung on the results.

However, the scope of what it won is not yet easy to define. The Juan Carlos-Suárez program is broadly drawn, disclosing only the barest outline of what is to follow. The theme—in a word, democracy—is still largely undeveloped and where its architects will take it, still largely unknown. Some hints have been dropped, but the signals are contradictory and confusing. One thing is apparent: its shape and existence will depend on the government's predispositions and strength (or lack of it) on the one hand, and on the balance of forces, Right, Left and Center, on the other. It is equally clear that, in one form or another, democracy has returned to Spain. The question now, most Spaniards agree, is not "if" but "what kind?" since the variety chosen will spell the difference between stability and disorder.

Armed with what it considers its mandate, the government, almost overnight, seems immeasurably strengthened, firmly in control. That conclusion is subscribed to by the Democratic Opposition (a coalition of liberal and left-wing parties, unions, workers' and residents' commissions), the Bunker, foreign powers and the government itself. A closer look, however, suggests that this strength may be illusory, the control tenuous.

To be sure, the 2.6 per cent *"no"* vote was a crashing defeat for the Bunker, which had exhorted its faithful to reject the election reform law, so as to keep the existing order, and its own power, intact. Its slogan, splashed across walls, assured all that "If Franco were alive, he'd vote no." Few among the millions seemed to care. But while the yes vote was indeed enormous, it signaled more a rejection of the Bunker than an acceptance of the nascent new regime. It was, first and foremost, an outpouring of pent-up sentiment. That a mass of people should vote for democracy was perhaps predictable in a country where the public was hankering for change. But the apparent unanimity may prove a burden. For once the government's design is more precisely developed; its almost unanimous backing must surely vanish, since it must favor some at the expense of others. It has no party, no political organization; only a vaguely defined constituency of interests (certain financial groups are its only firm backers). Lacking a political base of support from which to build, its power may melt away.

Thus, though the government's first-round score was impressive and it now holds the initiative, the influence of its opposition, both Left and Right, should not be minimized. For example, in the weeks preceding the referen-

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dum, two of the three major groups in the Democratic Opposition—the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) and the Communist Party (PCE)—along with various regional groups asked their people to abstain. Together, they urged a boycott and noncooperation on the ground that the government had not met their criteria for "true democracy." Their "conditions" were free elections, which meant recognition of all political groups (but primarily the still-outlawed PCE), open access to the media so that opposing views could be presented, strict secrecy of the ballot and multi-party control of the counting, as well as the general demands for amnesty for political prisoners and regional autonomy.

As proof of its muscle, the Opposition convinced more than a fifth of the electorate to avoid the referendum, with the rate as high as 56 and 40 per cent in the heavily industrialized Basque country and city of Barcelona. Responding to the fact that 22 per cent of those eligible did not vote, the government originally, and ambiguously, said it was "to be expected." The American press, on the other hand, doubtlessly comparing the rate with the routinely high percentage of abstentions in U.S. elections, gave little weight to their number. *The New York Times* noted that "the pro-abstention campaign by Left-of-Center and regional opposition groups did not make much of a dent." It characterized the electorate as "docile." Not everyone (and least of all the Suárez government) was convinced of this logic, however, since it had clearly been no ordinary vote. In a similar situation in Portugal in 1975—the first election after forty years of dictatorship—more than 90 per cent of the people made their way to the polls. Thus, aware of its significance, the government later admitted there were obvious divisions and urged all Spaniards to work together in the future.

As for the government's next moves, clues can be found in the course it plotted more than six months ago. More revealing still, perhaps the mirror image of that "future" of which it speaks, is its handling of the referendum.

Its goals are fairly straightforward; first, to create a political system that can guarantee stability to foreign investment which has fallen precipitously of late; second, to regain respectability among the social democracies of Western Europe which have ostracized Spain, isolating it politically and economically, for the last four decades. For the floundering Spanish economy as well as for indigenous capital, the two are critical.

As one of the Opposition leaders observed, "It was apparent, especially at the time the second provisional government was named, that the social stability desired could be won only with the support of the popular movement. If Suárez and Juan Carlos had offered only another form of dictatorship, the public would have rebelled. Thus, they were aware that liberalization and reform were inevitable. Anything less, like the blueprint designed by Fraga Iribarne, strong-man Minister of the Interior of the first provisional government, would have been doomed.

"Although Fraga's goals were similar," he added, "his tactics were a replay of the past. He tried to preserve the Francoist state almost totally intact, tolerated no dissent and used Franco's tools to impose his plan. But in the absence of the *Generalisimo* and the weight of his image, the old-style repression no longer worked."

In the first months of 1976, Fraga's scheme unfolded—minimal reforms, limited amnesty and an abundance of brute force. Tactically, he sought to divide his opponents, splitting the Christian Democrats and Socialists from the Communists. The results, however, were disastrous. A people clamoring for change, after years of oppression, were not to be sidetracked. At the popular level, mass street demonstrations and crippling strikes flared across the country, all the more remarkable since they were illegal. A new and militant working class, spawned in the country's rapid industrialization after World War II, demanded both economic and political liberty, aware that the two were intimately linked. Production and profits plummeted, while inflation and unemployment surged. The foreign debt rose beyond $5 billion, forcing a crisis in the balance of payments. At the political level, instead of fracturing, as Fraga had hoped, the Opposition banded together in a united front, the Democratic Coordination.

From outside the borders, foreign powers signaled their concern. For its part, the United States had been content with Franco, who assured continued profits for American investments and secure bases for its military. But as the first provisional government was unable to provide either, a change was needed. Also, with growing international criticism of American support for Fascist regimes (as in Chile, Iran and South Korea), a democratic Spain, which could both protect U.S. military and economic interests and present a liberal image, would be highly preferred.

The social democracies of Western Europe, too, were understandably nervous about their vast investments which, as was the case with U.S. capital, had poured into Spain in the 1950s and 1960s. Confronted with continued disorder, these interests were now threatened. Thus, when Juan Carlos formed a new government early last summer and pledged a Western-style democracy, the foreign governments rallied behind him. If he made good his word, there was the added enticement of loans and inclusion into the European community.

To secure foreign and internal support—the new Premier even began a dialogue with some of the Democratic Opposition, since he knew their cooperation was crucial—a new route was plotted. The strategy was shaped and, despite some revisions, it is still in place. It would offer real reform, to appease the public, yet maintain political and social control. During the last six months, as part of the liberalization program, press censorship was relaxed, most political prisoners were released (except those in the outlawed "terrorist" ETA), greater political activity was tolerated, worker organizing was permitted and violence by the far Right was reprehended.

On the constitutional front, the government produced the electoral reform laws that would establish a popularly elected two-chamber Parliament to replace the present single-chamber Cortes (a vestige from the Franco era), pushed them through that ultra-conservative body (which

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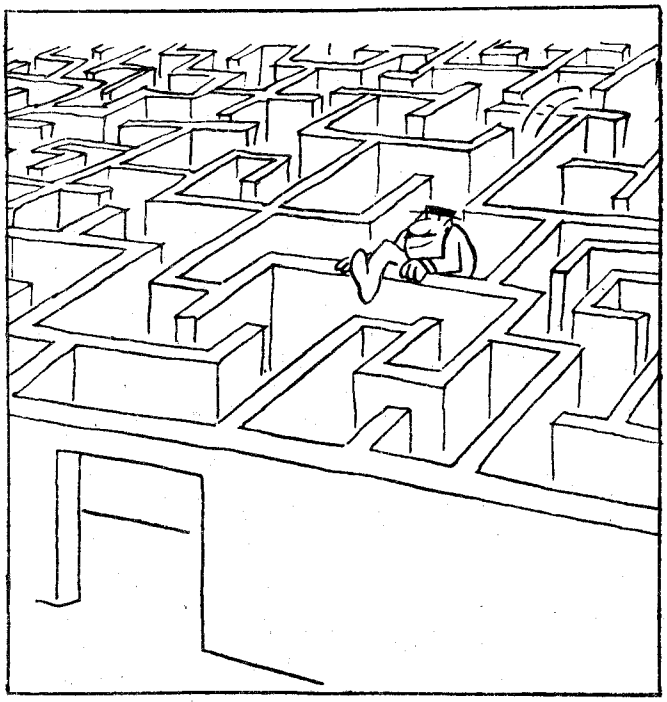

Bas, Tachydromos (Greece)
Spanish Road to Democracy

knowingly signed away its existence when it approved them), and held the promised referendum on December 15. Then, on the strength of the "yes" vote, it pledged national elections for the Parliament by June 1977. But as with most of the government's maneuvers, reforms fashioned to liberalize the system were balanced by counter moves designed to preserve an essentially conservative political, social and economic order.

Contradictions abound, and it is by these ambiguous practices that the government discloses most about its intentions. In the area of human and political liberties, for example, the government's record is equivocal. Though it pursued a broad program of amnesty and released most political prisoners from jail, new arrests quickly replace them. Furthermore, on the eve of the referendum, at the moment when Premier Suárez was making a televised plea for a large *"si"* vote for democracy, police were arresting leftists who were peacefully promoting the boycott in downtown Madrid. Others in Pamplona were set upon by riot troops.

"While it is true that the most flagrant abuses of the Franco era were abolished, repression continued. But it was more selective and subtle," one professor and member of the PCE remarked. "As a result, we were caught by ambivalence, unsure of how far we could go.

"The Democratic Opposition was generally tolerated," he continued, "but just four days before the referendum, when 400 of its members held a meeting in a Madrid hotel, we were surrounded by the police and averted arrests only after hours of negotiations. Some of the city's most prominent lawyers and political figures and leaders of the residents' and workers' commissions were among us. And it is possible that the officials realized the arrests would be a huge tactical error."

Millions of Spaniards are currently banned from the political process altogether, since the parties which represent them, like the PCE, the regional groups and far Left parties, are still illegal. (It is estimated that 30 per cent of the electorate support these groups.) And despite Interior Minister Rodolfo Martín Villa's insistence that the government's goals are "to heal old wounds" and "widen the possibility to unify Spaniards," its practices promote divisiveness. To the demand for regional autonomy, which is the burning issue in the Basque country, Catalonia and Galicia, the government turns a deaf ear.

More tellingly, in late December, Santiago Carrillo, head of the PCE and one of the chief architects of "Eurocommunism"—that brand of communism which commits itself to multi-party democracy and independence from Moscow—was arrested. This followed upon an "illegal" press conference where, in defiance of the government, he vowed the PCE would participate fully in the upcoming spring elections. The entire social democratic community in Western Europe reacted strongly to the news of his detainment. As expressed by the president of the Portuguese Socialist Party, it found such an arbitrary arrest "totally contrary to human rights and democratic pluralism." The day after Carrillo's arrest, *Le Monde* noted that "the monarchy is not able for long to elude the question of recognition for all political parties, including the PCE, if it wishes to give proof of its democratic convictions before the world."

As for the popular movement, the government allowed the level of activity to increase, but certain groups were outlawed. Two residents' commissions in Madrid, along with the Federation of Neighborhood Groups (the umbrella organization for all residents' groups in the city), were denied official approval, it being thought that their members were connected to the PCE. Further, though officials seemed willing to permit a general strike called for by the unions and workers' commissions November 12, they took strong measures to diffuse it. Two hundred militants were arrested beforehand and held until the day had passed, serving as examples to would-be participants. On the day of the strike, though nearly 2.5 million workers took part, the police confined their demonstrations to working-class areas and factories.

A review of the government's orchestration of the referendum offers insight into its inclinations. Leaving nothing to chance, the government controlled the whole operation, including the entire election apparatus (the polls, the counting of the vote and the release of results). Three weeks in advance, it launched a public relations extravaganza, entreating the people to vote. On the day of the vote, workers were given four hours off, with pay, to get to the polls. To present its case, the government monopolized the mass media and denied its opponents, who called for the boycott, any access to the radio or television, despite pressure from the Democratic Opposition and the Catholic Church, and despite its own promises to the contrary. (The far Right, however, was allowed to air its views.) Many of the Opposition who attempted to publicize their position by demonstrating, making speeches or distributing pamphlets, were arrested. While those detained were generally released a few hours later,

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the point was made. The government would tolerate no propaganda to the Left of its own position.

As to the electoral reform laws, which may determine the shape and content of political and social life for the next few years, highly conservative, rural interests are favored over the heavily populated industrial working-class areas, where the Left finds much of its support. This the government accomplished by allotting disproportionately high representation to the sparsely populated provinces, still the bulwark of the Right. Further, the new law delegates enormous power to the King, who will be permitted to by-pass the Parliament and appeal directly to the people, calling a referendum on any issue he feels touches the "national interest." He can then dissolve both chambers and call new elections. Since the circumstances under which he would use such power are as yet unknown, it's very existence could curb Parliamentary independence and integrity.

Finally, to insure that its control remains total, the government continues to rule through the Francoist institutions, dismantling the most reactionary, but retaining others that are useful to it. Thus, some of the more repressive laws were repealed, the Bunker-dominated national union abandoned and some far-Right functionaries replaced. But the tools for social control—the police, the civil guard, the military and the courts—are still intact and now, having been wrested from the Bunker, are firmly in the government's grasp.

To be sure, many of the past governmental moves were concessions to the far Right. Until its shattering defeat in December, the Bunker's power appeared prodigious and problematic. So real was its potential for coup-making thought to be that both government and Opposition stepped gingerly. Thus, the Socialist Party Congress, originally scheduled for early November was postponed by the government until after the Cortes had approved the electoral reform law, so as not to endanger its passage by offending the Right.

For its part, the Opposition admits to curbing mass street action, generally its most effective way to consolidate power, lest continued civil disorder provoke a right-wing retaliation. The "hot autumn" predicted was barely lukewarm, with strikes and demonstrations reduced to isolated events.

As to the future, forecasts flourish, but in the end the balance of forces is what will fashion the shape of Spanish democracy. The Right promises a renaissance to halt further destruction of the Francoist order. The Left vows to press the government unflaggingly for further reforms—preferably through the electoral process, but in the streets if necessary. The government, caught somewhere between the two, finds itself balked at every turn.

If it moves, as promised, to liberalize the system, it must surely provoke the remnants of the Right, the weight of whose strength is unknown. If it drags its heels in transforming Spain from dictatorship to democracy, the Left and the popular movement—the most militant and advanced in Western Europe—are waiting to take matters into their own hands. Aware of the dilemma and hoping to build a democracy somewhere to the Right of Center, the government acts to isolate the extremes of Left and Right and draw the more moderate into an expanded middle.

Daily it appears to offer concessions to each. No sooner had Carrillo been taken (a gift to the Right which was calling the government "weak and complacent" in its dealing with the PCE) than three key Bunker figures, two chiefs of police and the chief of the civil guard, were summarily dismissed. In a stroke, the government sought to placate the Left, but more important, to rid itself, once and for all, of threat from the extreme Right.

Though the tactics and timing seem masterful, the government walks a tightrope with no safety net beneath. The only way it can consolidate its power is to win over the mass of the Spanish people, for whom the conservative Center, which the government occupies, leaves much to be desired. And in the long run the mass movement—that assortment of workers' and neighborhood commissions, housewives' councils and the like—may have more to say about Spanish democracy than the King, the Cabinet or any of the changing cast of power manipulators on Left or Right. □

JOBS FOR ALL

CONGRESSIONAL WILL-O'-THE-WISP

HELEN GINSBURG

The dismal figures announced monthly by the Bureau of Labor Statistics keep repeating the simple truth—unemployment is the most pressing U.S. domestic problem. The country is now skidding into the third year of the highest jobless rates since Franklin D. Roosevelt sat in the White House. Yet the direction of President Carter's fiscal strategy is like that of his predecessor—at best to reduce unemployment to 7 per cent by the end of 1977. Congress may force him to give a little more; organized labor, blacks and the other groups that helped elect him will push for more jobs. But barring a major popular outcry, the next four years are unlikely to see the end of the current unemployment crisis. They are even less likely to see the fundamental policy changes that the long-run problem requires. Without such changes, the future will be burdened with even more urban decay, poverty, crime, youth alienation, racism, sexism and ageism.

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Recently, after a hiatus of three decades, full employment has emerged again as a national issue. The Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Bill (H.R.50/S.50) has stimulated the biggest debate on the subject since the mid-1940s when, under the pervasive fear of a post-World War II depression, liberals and labor rallied around the Full Employment Bill of 1945. It passed overwhelmingly in the Senate only to suffer a stunning defeat by conservatives in the House. What finally emerged was that bland compromise, the Employment Act of 1946. It explicitly rejected the assumption of the original 1945 bill that the federal government should intervene in the economy to guarantee employment for all who wanted to work. As Sen. Robert Taft (R., Ohio) told the Senate in the final 1946 debate:

> I do not think any Republican need fear voting for the bill because of any apprehension that there is a victory [for its proponents] in the passage of the full-employment bill, because there is no full-employment bill any more.

The most ambitious attempt since then to commit the federal government to a policy of full-employment centers on the struggle over H.R.50. It was first introduced into the Congress in June 1974 by Rep. Augustus Hawkins, an influential member of the Black Caucus from the Watts district of Los Angeles. Hawkins, deeply committed to full employment and equality for all people, did not conceive of the bill as simply an anti-recession measure (indeed, he first presented it to the House before the country had fallen into the present recession). Representing a district plagued, even in so-called "good times," by endemic poverty and depression levels of unemployment, he was interested in a two-pronged long-term strategy: to provide jobs for all Americans who want to work; and to fill unmet social needs by using the untapped labor of the unemployed and the underemployed. Full employment was to be the key to reducing poverty, inequality, discrimination, crime, welfare, alienation and human misery—and to improving living standards and the quality of life. Hawkins's original bill was co-sponsored in the House by Henry Reuss (D., Wis.), and soon thereafter Hubert Humphrey sponsored an identical bill in the Senate.

Hoping to gain time to build support for the idea of full employment, Hawkins called his bill, "The Equal Opportunity and Full Employment Act of 1976." Addressing a Full Employment Conference at Columbia University in March 1974, he had said that the coming election was not likely to produce a Congress "sufficiently full-employment-minded to pass legislation of this type without watering it down, and stripping it of its most essential features." But he saw political trends veering toward liberalism and expected the election of a liberal Democratic President and Congress in 1976. Thus, Hawkins's strategy was to give the issue enough visibility so that a commitment to full employment might become part of the 1976 Democratic Party Platform, thereby positioning his bill for passage in 1977. Events have not worked out as he had hoped.

Successive variants of H.R.50—all building on the Employment Act of 1946—were introduced in March 1975, March 1976 and September 1976. But though the number of pages doubled from twenty-eight to fifty-six, the goal shrank from jobs for all to jobs for some. The plain goal of the first bill was a job for everyone who wanted, and was able, to work. It called for "a national policy and nationwide machinery for guaranteeing all adult Americans 16 years of age or more willing and able to work equal opportunities for useful employment at fair rates of compensation." And "all" meant just that—women, older people, younger people, members of racial, ethnic, national or religious minorities, veterans, the physically and mentally handicapped, former drug addicts and released convicts.

This broad sweep called for a multiple approach. At the first level, federal economic policies were to be geared toward increasing the overall demand for labor; most of the jobs were to be created that way. And to help insure that the economy generated jobs, a number of procedures were stipulated. The President, for example, was required to submit to Congress annually a long- and a short-run full-employment and production plan. And the Congressional Joint Economic Committee was to review the needed appropriations.

But an integral back-up measure obligated the federal government itself to create enough jobs to employ *everyone* still out of work. Federally financed reservoirs of public and private projects to meet community needs were to be developed by local planning councils in every labor market. Job seekers were to be referred by local Job Guarantee Offices to suitable private or public employment, or if necessary to temporary, paid assignment in a Standby Job Corps.

The bill, as its title promised, was strongly oriented toward equal opportunity. It recognized that those with special problems would need help, since anyone who applied for work in person at a Job Office, even if handicapped, was to be "considered *prima facie* 'willing and able' to work." Finally, there was an enforceable, legal right to employment. Individuals who felt unfairly deprived of their job rights were entitled to an administrative appeal and, if necessary, to sue the government. Quite deliberately, the bill set no numerical rate of unemployment as a target. The goal was to have enough jobs for everyone, *including those not in the labor force as customarily measured.*

No doubt about it, a bill that aims for real full employment, with jobs guaranteed, is ambitious. For that reason full implementation was scheduled to take five years. But five years is a long time when one is faced with an immediate crisis. When he introduced the bill, Hawkins

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could not know that the economy was about to nosedive, with millions of newcomers soon to join the army of the unemployed.

In March 1975, when the second version of H.R.50 was unveiled, nearly 8 million were out of work—3.2 million more than nine months earlier. The jobless rate had jumped from 5.2 to 8.7 per cent and was still climbing. Thus, there was an interim target—to slash official joblessness to 3 per cent within eighteen months. But the final goal of real full employment remained unchanged, as did the underlying ethical principle. Indeed, the bill's list of national priorities was greatly expanded, among them adequate housing, health care, education for all, expansion of mass transit, conservation of resources, environmental improvement, and the development of artistic, cultural and recreational activities. Poverty and substandard wages were to be virtually eliminated within ten years, and adequate child-care facilities were to be provided within five. Though national defense appeared as a mode of employment for the first time, a section on the conversion of the arms industry was retained from the original bill. Also, there were more specific instructions in this version as to how fiscal and monetary policies—including those of the Federal Reserve System—must be brought into line with the full-employment goal, and a new section offered policies to curb inflation without sacrificing that goal.

The bill was designed to capture the imagination of those who yearned for a better, more just America. By April 1975, the list of House co-sponsors had grown to eighty-five. But in the conservative climate of the mid-1970s, that hardly assured serious political support or even attention. For as Rep. John Conyers Jr. (D., Mich.), a leading supporter of H.R.50, told a Congressional Conference on Full Employment Policy later that year, "There are some Congressmen who are supposed to be supporting this bill who would cut off their right arm rather than vote for it if the vote came thirty minutes from now." In fact, the post-Watergate Congress responded like a mouse to the economic crisis, offering little more than a mild tax cut, extension of unemployment benefits and 300,000 public service jobs. The full-employment goal and most of H.R.50's priorities (except national defense) were light years away from the national agenda, even of the Democrats. Nor did it help that the unemployed were remarkably passive, unions offered little real fight, more and more workers were pitted against one another for scarce jobs, and few Americans—even among those who would benefit most from it—had grasped the concept of full employment and the right to a job.

To be sure, some limited support and consciousness was building around the issue and the bill. In 1975, the Hawkins Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities held hearings on H.R.50 in eight cities, while Humphrey's Joint Economic Committee held hearings on unemployment and full employment. And several groups had been created to work for full employment. The National Committee for Full Employment had been established in June 1974 and soon set up a legislative arm, the Full Employment Action Council (both bodies were co-chaired by Coretta Scott King and Murray Finley, head of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union). These coalitions brought together labor, religious, civil rights, black, ethnic, women's, senior citizens and other groups with a stake in full employment. Left out were the environmentalists, who in 1975 formed Environmentalists for Full Employment.

But H.R.50 itself was crippled by lack of AFL-CIO support, without which no labor legislation has a chance in Congress. The AFL-CIO strongly opposed the legally enforceable right to a job, calling it impractical and unnecessary, though the independent United Auto Workers and United Electrical Workers supported the legal guarantee. The assumption is that organized labor feared an outpouring of job seekers. But the recession soon began to harass the unions and their members. By December 1975, the AFL-CIO had decided to give full employment a high spot on its 1976 Congressional agenda. It promised all-out support for a more realistic and practical H.R.50. And with a Presidential election not far off, the House Democratic leadership became more interested and promised the Black Caucus that a redrafted bill, one able to attract broader support, would get top priority. The bill was to be passed and placed on Gerald Ford's desk by the end of May, ready to be vetoed. Since that veto could not be overridden, H.R.50 would become the main campaign issue of the Democrats, and Hubert Humphrey, who had long been talking about full employment, hoped to ride it into the White House.

The third, or "attractive," version of H.R. 50 was heavily influenced by Humphrey and the AFL-CIO, which gave it "support without reservation." It was introduced in March 1976 with a new title from which "Equal Opportunity" had been dropped. "The Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act of 1976" adopted some features of an earlier planning bill sponsored by Humphrey and Jacob Javits (R., N.Y.); it therefore had a much more elaborate economic planning mechanism than did its predecessors, but was weaker in a crucial area—its ability to make the Federal Reserve System conform to the full-employment goal. By use of restrictive monetary policy, the Fed could still counteract stimulative fiscal policies. It was also more comprehensive, containing policies such as counter-cyclical grants to state and local governments, special financial assistance to depressed areas and inner cities, youth employment programs, and additional anti-inflation tools. However, though the means were more elaborate, the aims were far more modest.

As expected, the right to sue for a job—and thus the job guarantee—was gone. Also gone was the provision covering workers with special obstacles. The stated goal was a 3 per cent adult unemployment rate within four years, and even that was vague. Did it include 16-to-19-year-olds, as in the second H.R.50? If it did not, overall unemployment would be 4 per cent. And how different would that be from the Ford administration's projection of 4.9 per cent by 1981?

More fundamentally, can 4 or even 3 per cent unemployment be called *full* employment? Or does it mean full employment for some groups and continued misery

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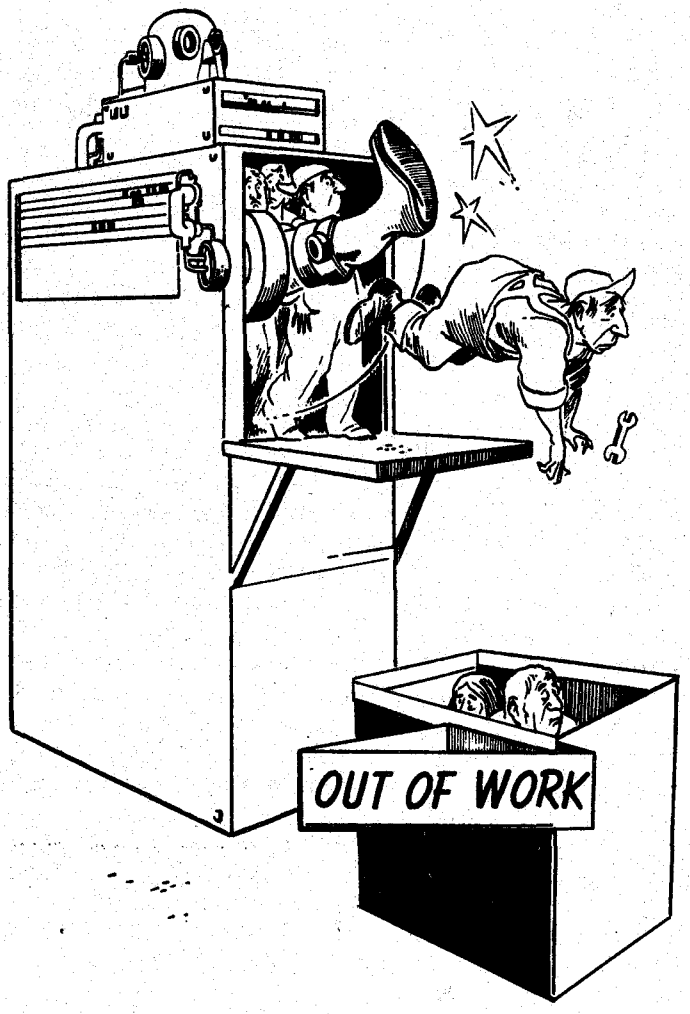
for others? Consider 1968, when joblessness was 3.6 per cent. Rates by categories varied from 2.6 per cent for white men, 4.3 for white women, 5.6 for black men, to 8.3 for black women. Black teenagers lagged far behind with 24 per cent. And, especially for women and blacks, these are large underestimates, so the real disparities are even greater. It was in 1968, also, that the National Commission on Civil Disorders issued its report on ghetto riots and urged immediate action (which was never taken) to create 2 million jobs within three years for the hard-core unemployed and underemployed. So, while 3 or 4 per cent unemployment is a lot better than 8 per cent, it's a far cry from full employment.

The bill set its 3 per cent goal for 1980. Does it really take that long to put people to work, or does the time



Vadillo, el Sol de Mexico

span reflect absence of political will? In November 1933, Roosevelt established the Civil Works Administration and appointed Harry Hopkins to head it. By mid-January 1934, only a few weeks later, more than 4 million persons had been put to work by the federal government at a wide variety of useful jobs. Indeed, the CWA was a victim of its own success; it was violently attacked by business, which appreciates an extensive labor pool. FDR succumbed to the pressure and soon laid the agency to rest.

Today, even some "liberals" favor tax cuts as a means to economic recovery and are biased against direct government job creation, even though it is the most equitable, swiftest, surest, least expensive and least inflationary way to put people to work. Bowing to this bias, the third version of H.R.50 reduced the role of government as employer of last resort. Job reservoirs (now to be federally operated) would come into being only when it seemed probable that other means would not reduce joblessness to 3 per cent within four years. In effect, those with the least chance of getting jobs were to be put at the end of the employment line and asked to wait longest. To control the size of the program, eligibility would be limited. Thus, the Secretary of Labor was to set up criteria, including a means test, for job eligibility. Only the howl of women's groups eliminated the discrimination against married women implied by the criterion, "number of employed persons in the household." Worse still, an applicant who knowingly provided false information, probably out of desperation for a job, was subject to criminal penalties. In short, with no job guarantee, there is no right to work. Work becomes a privilege reserved for those deemed the worthy unemployed.

Other disturbing changes were made in the priorities, which were reduced from nineteen to five. For example, national defense was retained but military conversion dropped, not a very reassuring decision in a country that has relied on wars and military expenditures to cure unemployment.

In the 1940s, meaningful full-employment legislation was killed by big business and the Republicans. In 1976, conservatives didn't have to do much to win their points. The most damaging testimony came from so-called "liberal" economists who warned of inflation. It is a bad omen that President Carter has named Charles Schultze of the Brookings Institution to chair the Council of Economic Advisers. In a recent book, Schultze set 5 per cent as the "full-employment" standard. His influential Senate testimony, reprinted in *The Washington Post* (June 7, 1976) as an op-ed essay, is widely credited with having killed H.R.50's chances in the last Congress.

Schultze was Lyndon Johnson's Budget Director, and as such, Eileen Shanahan, economics writer for *The New York Times* recalls, was "a key participant in a cover-up of the rapidly escalating costs of the war in Vietnam." But in his recent testimony, he did not inveigh against the inflation fueled by that war, or against the continuing inflationary pressure of wasteful military expenditures, or against price hikes that stem from corporate power. Instead, he launched an assault on Humphrey-Hawkins based on the very conservative and untrue assumption that an overall unemployment rate of less than 5.5 per cent is per se inflationary.

Last-resort jobs were singled out as the bill's spur to inflation, partly because of the provision that they pay prevailing wages. Schultze raised the specter of an exodus of low-wage workers from private industry to these jobs —a move that might drive up low wages in the private sector. Ray Marshall, named as Carter's Secretary of

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Labor, answered Schultze in an analysis reprinted in the *Congressional Record* (July 26, 1976). He pointed out the scant evidence to support the theory of a trade-off between unemployment and inflation and noted that unemployment itself is inflationary because it means, among other things, lost output and rising expenditures on income maintenance programs. He denied that paying the prevailing wage would be inflationary and thought the bill could "provide a stimulus to create better as well as more jobs."

That is really the heart of the matter. Schultze provided an argument that orthodox economists have long used to portray unemployment as acceptable and even desirable. But his was also a thinly veiled and conservative attack on full employment with decent wages, which is very different from full employment with poverty or near-poverty wages. The former implies a redistribution of income and status to the poor. The latter might simply mean that the welfare or jobless poor become the working poor. "Who will do the dirty work?" is the issue. Full employment with decent wages means that such work will have to be upgraded and those who do it better paid. Tightening labor markets and raising low wages shift power within the working class and from capital to labor. This partly explains the persistent preference, even among some "liberals," for large welfare programs rather than decent jobs programs.

The basics of the third H.R.50 became part of the Democratic Party Platform. In the primaries, all the leading Democrats except Carter (and Wallace) endorsed either that bill or its predecessor. But unemployment, not full employment or H.R.50, was the issue in the Presidential campaign. Once Humphrey was out of the race, the Democrats were left with a candidate oriented toward private business—one who favored a final 4-to-4.5 per cent jobless rate. Congressional enthusiasm also dropped. Although the bill was reported out of the House Labor Committee, it never got out of committee in the Senate. By mid-summer, freshmen Democrats voted, 65 to 10, to ask the House leadership not to put the bill to a vote, lest it hurt their chances for re-election, and it is said that many Congressmen reported getting little pressure from constituents for H.R.50. For all its weaknesses, the third version of Humphrey-Hawkins, with some changes, could have marked a major turning point in public policy. It deserved support as a first significant step on the road to full employment. It never got to the House floor.

Once again, H.R.50 was extensively rewritten, this time to get Carter's approval and to meet the objections of Schultze and others. It was reported out of the House Labor Committee in September. Most but not all the changes reflect the absence of pressure from the Left. The new and weaker goal is a 3 per cent jobless rate for adults 20 years old and over within four years—a 4 per cent rate overall. The young are covered by separate programs to reduce joblessness, but with no timetables. Inflation is also targeted at no more than the rate at time of enactment, but with the stipulation "without sacrificing the employment goal." The planning mechanism has been watered down, the private sector orientation is pervasive, and the reservoir jobs are even further downgraded—they are now to be created only as a last resort and *not before two years after enactment.* Those still unemployed at that time will find the jobs "mainly in the lower range of skills and pay," with the eligibility criteria even further limited, and the prevailing wage down the drain (the federal minimum wage will still apply).

Carter endorsed the fourth version of Humphrey-Hawkins in October but one heard scant mention of it or full employment in his campaign. Some supporters of H.R.50 are not even aware of the new bill, which its sponsors plan to introduce into the 95th Congress. Others wonder whether it is a full-employment bill or a somewhat-less-unemployment bill that will merely establish 4 per cent as a tolerable unemployment rate.

Passage of an adequate bill will take a lot more pressure than has yet been exerted on Washington. Nothing less than the popular dynamism that produced the civil rights, anti-war, women's and environmental movements can bring about adequate full-employment legislation, though it is possible that legislation called full employment might pass without it. And unless there is a strong and persistent movement for full employment and guaranteed jobs at decent wages, even a strong law would not be vigorously implemented.

Some people who want full employment say you can't get it by passing laws—that our economic system can't give it. But by European standards, American capitalism operates with few restraints and full employment has never been made a real demand here. Thus, how much the system can give is a matter of opinion, but surely it can give a lot more than it has. At the least, a struggle for full employment would put more constraints on the system, shift some power away from corporations, and reinforce other movements for human rather than corporate priorities. Creating and guaranteeing jobs for all cannot be accomplished in a vacuum; it is one component in a strategy for tackling many of the interdependent ills of society.

While the movement for full employment has not yet been born, the potential for it exists. Full employment is the cry of an impressive and growing number of groups from Americans for Democratic Action to the National Organization of Women (NOW) and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. Dozens of organizations, from Network (Catholic nuns working for social justice) to the National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Houses, have had workshops and conferences to encourage their people to work more effectively on the issue.

Organizing for full employment is not easy. The press attacks by crying inflation; many with jobs are uninterested, and many of the jobless blame themselves for their plight. The National Committee for Full Employment has provided information, stimulated other organizations, and held some national conferences, but has done little local organizing. Even so, coalitions for full employment have already taken root in some cities. Many of these were initiated by the Health and Welfare Working Group of the National Council of Churches. Its program for education and organizing on the issue was launched at a national conference in New York in January 1976. Regional conferences have been or soon will be held in Kansas

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City, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, Denver, Buffalo, Sioux City, Des Moines, Omaha and elsewhere.

As the jobless rate drops and "regular" workers go back to work, the pressure on government to act on H.R.50 could diminish rapidly. But if "recovery" is kept as slow as Carter proposes, rank-and-file indignation may build. Independent unions as well as the hardest hit AFL-CIO affiliates may become more active. Similarly, while old guard AFL-CIO leaders are wedded to the military budget, some unions, especially those in the public sector, may start to push harder for military cuts and for socially more useful jobs.

The potential of morally committed religious activists is less likely to diminish when unemployment starts to fall. The same is true of women and minorities, whose problems will persist. Black groups have always strongly supported full employment, but they can't do it alone. Women's groups were among the earliest and most enthusiastic backers of H.R.50 but local activism is mostly still a potential. Its development was slowed when the AFL-CIO was brought into the redrafting of H.R.50 and other concerned groups were frozen out. As Sara Nelson writes in the NOW news monthly *Do It Now* (December 1976): "We were wary and angry. We hesitated to lay a groundwork of support for legislation we were not privy to. Other groups were similarly frustrated."

The issue won't go away but interest in a national issue and local activity for it wither to a feeling of powerlessness when there is an inadequate national focus. And a bill that has been compromised until its teeth are gone, may be given formal endorsement, but cannot generate much enthusiasm.

At the founding meeting of the National Committee for Full Employment, Leonard Woodcock called for formation of a committee of 100 to establish a committee of one million to work for full employment. The committee of one million was never established. The need is still there. □

'SOUTH AFRICA—A POLICE STATE?'

A Banned Monograph on Inhumanity

STU COHEN

In September a document, "South Africa—A Police State?" was published in that troubled country. Within days the publication was banned by the Pretoria government and its continued distribution became illegal. The ban came as no surprise. "We knew it would happen," said a member of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, publishers of the document, "so we circulated it as quickly as possible." After the ban, two copies were smuggled out of South Africa and brought to the United States.

The Christian Institute of Southern Africa was founded in the mid-1960s by C.F. Beyers Naude, an Afrikaner. Beyers Naude is perhaps the white person most hated by the government of his country. The reason is quite simple —Beyers Naude is a "traitor." Once a respected member of the Afrikaner community, a distinguished theologian, a leader of the Dutch Reformed Church, Beyers Naude was also a member of the Broederbund—the secret Afrikaner society that has dominated South African politics since 1948. Then came Sharpeville.

On March 21, 1960, the black protest against South Africa's "pass laws" spread to Sharpeville township. That day a large crowd of demonstrators had gathered at the township's police station. The situation was tense; nine police officers had recently been murdered in another township and the police of Sharpeville were scared. They fired into the crowd, killing sixty-nine demonstrators and wounding another 180. Most had been shot in the back while fleeing the police bullets.

In number of victims, the Sharpeville Massacre has been eclipsed by more recent events, but in 1960 Sharpeville had a traumatic effect upon South Africans. It precipitated a crisis of conscience among whites who were already uncomfortable with their government's policy of apartheid. Beyers Naude was one whose discomfort was pushed to the breaking point. He spoke out against the government's racial policies. Nor did he address his critical statements only to his own countrymen; some of his most forceful criticisms were made while in Europe. To the close-knit Afrikaner community, this was indeed treason. Beyers Naude was forced from the church, isolated from his fellow Afrikaners and vilified by government spokesmen. After these events, he founded the Christian Institute as a weapon against apartheid.

"Dear Friend," Beyers Naude writes in his introduction to the banned pamphlet, "Our growing concern regarding the national crisis in which our country is currently involved finds its expression, amongst others, in the publication of the enclosed report of persons recently detained under the various acts of security legislation. We undertake this publication . . . to convey our conviction to South Africa that a system of preventative detention for an indefinite period or detention without trial can never resolve the current crisis—the root cause whereof has to be sought in our inhuman and unjust racial policies."

The report begins with the "various acts of security legislation" alluded to by Beyers Naude. These laws are the walls of a legal labyrinth whose construction was

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begun in 1950. The Supression of Communism Act came first; in the quarter-century since its passage, fifty-eight additional laws and amendments have followed. In only two years, 1957 and 1975, were no security laws passed. The Riotous Assemblies Act, the Publications and Entertainment Act, the Prohibitions of Disguises Act, the Gatherings and Demonstrations Act—these are but a few of the laws that followed, year by year, with unceasing and brutal regularity.

The Promotion of Internal Security Act was contributed by the most recent Parliamentary session. This Act had begun legislative life as the Promotion of State Security Bill. The name was changed when journalists and opposition members of Parliament began referring to it as the "SS Bill," an allusion which the government found unpalatable.

The Internal Security Act follows in the tradition of its forebears, but with a significant difference. The new law provides for the disposition of South Africa's first true political prisoners. In the past, hundreds of "prisoners of conscience" have been interred on Robben Island and in other parts of the country, but the government stubbornly maintained that these individuals were criminals guilty of violations of the law. A fine point, to be sure, but even this is abandoned in the recent legislation. "The remarkable feature of the Act," according to South African attorney Geoff Budlender, "is that it creates no new criminal offenses . . . it is aimed at lawful activities, and the aim is not to make these activities unlawful, but to give the state arbitrary power to stop them and to punish the individuals concerned." Thus, the only accurate definition for detainees under the Act is "political prisoners."

The Promotion of Internal Security Act allows any government minister to issue a notice calling for the detention of any individual. Such notices are ministerial decrees and, as such, cannot be judicially reviewed under South African law. A person subject to a notice of detention may be held for twelve months, after which further consecutive detentions, each up to twelve months, may be ordered. Although detainees under the Act are considered as "persons awaiting trial," no release on bail may be granted. It is striking that those detainees who have been brought to trial were either acquitted or the government withdrew its charges against them.

"We have reached a point, the authors say, "when barely a day goes past without the detention of at least one further person." On September 20, the day when the report was released, it was believed that several thousand persons had been detained.

While detention under the security laws is the South African Government's most common response to its current national crisis, it also has at its disposal the tool of banning a persistent critic. Banning is a punishment unknown to the U.S. legal system but tragically present in South Africa. Short of executing the critics, it is the ultimate method of silencing criticism. A banning order, like a detention notice, is a ministerial decree from which no legal recourse is possible. Since the disturbances began at Soweto last June, twenty-five new banning orders have been handed down. This raises to 115 the number of "temporary nonpersons" in South Africa.

What is banning? Benjamin Pogrund, an editor of Johannesburg's prestigious *Rand Daily Mail,* explains: "You can't be with more than one person at a time . . . you're prohibited from going to any gathering—political, social; you can't go to a party, that's an offense. At its worst, you can also be house-arrested, which means you have to stay indoors from sunset to sunrise—it's a do-it-yourself form of imprisonment. If you're banned, nothing you say can be published or quoted, whether you said it twenty years ago or the previous day. You are not allowed to enter the premises of a newspaper, a factory, a university, or a school." Banning is a form of legal burial-while-alive. It has often been invoked against "troublesome" individuals whom the government is unable to convict of any specific criminal offense.

Among those who have been banned is Steve Biko, 29 years old, married with two children. He is considered the "father" of the Black Consciousness Movement. A former medical student at the University of Durban-Westville, Biko was studying law at the University of South Africa when he ran afoul of the government. Despite his banned status, he was also detained when the violence broke out at Soweto.

The use of detention under the security laws was immediately invoked in the Transvaal when the Soweto rioting began in June, but by August 10 the Minister of Justice, Police and Prisons, J. T. Kruger, had extended those sections of the law to the whole country. Under their sway the security police conducted raid after raid against the leaders of the black community. Among those detained were Kenneth Rachidi, national president of the Black People's Convention, the political umbrella of the Black Consciousness Movement; Mrs. Winnie Mandela, executive secretary of the Black Parents Association and the wife of Nelson Mandela, a long-term prisoner on Robben Island, and Mrs. Jane Oshadi Phakathi, Transvaal regional director of the Christian Institute.

The detention of journalists began at the end of July. One of those arrested in the first raid was David Rabkin, a sub-editor of Cape Town's *Argus*. Rabkin was recently sentenced to ten years in prison for writing pamphlets for the banned African National Congress. The speed with which his case was adjudicated is remarkable by South African standards, but the reason is evident: David Rabkin is a British citizen and his detention without trial was creating an international incident. Other journalists have been less fortunate.

At present some fifteen newsmen are being detained, including several of the foremost black journalists. As the riots spread, white reporters were forbidden by the police to enter black areas. Thus, the responsibility for reporting the disturbances fell upon black newsmen. They did their job well; as far as the police were concerned, many of them did it too well. Peter Magubane, Nat Serache and Willie Nkosi, all of the *Rand Daily Mail,* were detained; Nat Serache was subsequently released. Harry Mashabela of the *Johannesburg Star* disappeared, as did five of the reporters for the *World,* a black paper.

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It was later learned that these men had been detained.*

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that "No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment." South Africa is one of the few countries in the world that has not subscribed to the declaration. "South Africa—A Police State?" reports that "Allegations of extensive torture whilst in incommunicado detention in South Africa are increasingly being made as the security net tightens." The methods of torture cited by the authors include those made familiar by international protests about Chile, Argentina, Northern Ireland and all too many other countries.

At its most efficient, torture causes intense pain without seriously endangering the victim's life. However, torturers are not always efficient. As of the report's publication, three people were known to have died recently while in detention. It is not certain, but probable, that a fourth has since died, and there were similar deaths in the past. The government's standard explanations in such cases include: "natural causes," "fell from high window during interrogation," "slipped in shower," and "suicide."

The longest section of "South Africa—A Police State?" chronicles the events of political trials now before the courts, some of which began several years ago. When faced with what the government characterizes as violations of state security, the judicial mills of South Africa grind slowly.

The most important continuing political trial involves nine leaders of the Black People's Convention and the South African Students Organization, but it is widely recognized that this trial transcends the particular cases of nine young men. It has become a trial of the whole Black Consciousness Movement.

The "Black Consciousness" trial began more than one year ago, in September 1975. Each of the accused has been held in detention under the Terrorism Act for periods ranging from 685 to 727 days. It is already the longest political trial in South African history, the court record standing at more than 8,000 pages of evidence.

The accused are said to have "intended to endanger the law and order of South Africa." Subsection 2 of the Terrorism Act lists a series of "likely results" of certain activities which, if not disproved by the defense, constitute a valid presumption of guilt. Thus the accused must prove that their writings, speeches and philosophy were not likely to: embarrass the administration of the affairs of state; promote general dislocation, disturbance or disorder; cause substantial financial loss to any person or the state; cause further feelings of hostility between white and other inhabitants of the Republic, or hamper or deter any person from assisting in the maintenance of law and order. Now as to the actual events which precipitated the trial.

On September 25, 1975, a "Viva Frelimo" rally to celebrate the liberation of Mozambique was organized by the South African Students Organization, the rally to be held in Durban. Mr. Kruger reacted to the plan by banning for one month all gatherings run by the Students Organization and the Black People's Convention. Despite the ban, a spontaneous gathering took place and there were clashes with the police. Afterward, the security police raided the offices of both organizations and detained a number of people. After nearly four months of incommunicado detention, those currently on trial were charged under the Terrorism Act.

On May 3, 1976, the defense attorneys called one of their most important witnesses, Steve Biko, generally acknowledged to be the founder of the South African Students Organization. He testified for four and a half days. The authors of "South Africa—A Police State?" are forced to interrupt their narrative of the trial at this point. In a black-bordered box they explain that "In terms of Section 11 (g) of the Internal Security Act . . . we are not permitted to reprint extracts of Mr. Biko's evidence." The next sentence of the pamphlet introduces another witness, Nchaupe Aubrey Mokoape. The sentence after that one reads "Section 11 (g) again applies."

The defense closed its case in late August, at which time the trial was remanded until October 12, in order to allow attorneys on both sides to prepare their closing arguments. Those arguments are still to be made; at this date, the case remains open.

In December 1975, and the first months of 1976, South African security police detained some fifty persons during widespread raids in the Natal area. One of these detainees, Joseph Mduli, is among those who died in prison. It was not until late April, when the security police claimed to have crushed an alleged underground network of the banned African National Congress, that any indication was given of the reason for the arrests.

Finally, in May, the trials of those arrested were begun. However, only ten of the fifty detainees appeared, under unusually strict security precautions, in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court. These ten, charged under both the Terrorism and the Suppression of Communism Acts, were alleged to have sent and received messages from members of the African National Congress living in exile in Swaziland. The allegations further included the receiving of "subversive" literature from Swaziland and the instigating of a program of military and political training outside the Republic "in order thereafter to return and assist in the overthrow of the government of the Republic by violent and forcible means."

The case took a sudden, unexpected turn when two of the defendants, Joseph Nduli (not Joseph Mduli, who had died in detention) and Cleopas Ndlovu, submitted that they had been kidnapped from Swaziland and had been tortured by South African security police. Their attorneys provided affidavits from a Pietermaritzburg surgeon attesting to marks on the defendants' bodies substantiating their claim of torture. They sought a court ruling that would order their return to Swaziland.

On July 15, the *Rand Daily Mail* published a letter in which the Swaziland head of information stated that, if the two individuals were indeed arrested on Swaziland

*Because of spotty press coverage in the United States, and the South African Government's habit of unpredictably releasing and rearresting dissidents, it is difficult to know from moment to moment exactly who is being detained. Winnie Mandela, for example, was freed, then rearrested and banned for a period of five years.

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soil, the government protested strongly and demanded the "immediate return of these two persons by the South African Government." Mr. Justice van Heerden of the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court responded that the defendants had failed to prove that they were kidnapped and that "even if they had been arrested on Swaziland soil" they came under the jurisdiction of his court.

Eight of the defendants pleaded not guilty; Nduli and Ndlovu refused to plead, maintaining that the court had no jurisdiction. The senior government counsel responded, "It doesn't matter how they come to be here. . . . They may lay a complaint with the police in Swaziland. But in this court it is irrelevant."

In their last narrative section, the pamphlet's authors deal briefly with the public response to widespread detentions. Prior to Soweto, they say, protest within the white community was restricted to certain churchmen, liberals, university students and faculty and the English-speaking press. Since Soweto, and in light of the ever widening disturbances, public criticism of detentions under the security laws has grown. A number of Afrikaans language newspapers, upon whose solid support the government could traditionally count, have published editorials critical of Vorster's response to the demonstrations. One such editorial, from the Afrikaans paper *Beeld* was reprinted in the *Rand Daily Mail,* to the surprise and delight of its staff and readers. According to the Christian Institute, "Even some members of the more conservative sections of the population are querying the government's wisdom in detaining the black leadership."

"In yet another attempt," they write, "to bring the true facts before the world, the Christian Institute now publishes 'South Africa—A Police State?' " This too was banned—and the Vorster government indeed had its reasons. The most obvious of these relates to a key section of the document—a 13-page appendix listing all the information available on all known detainees. One page covers deaths in detention; another four pages summarize data about persons who have been banned. Finally, the authors list all those known to have been in detention or to have been recently released. It tells who they are, when they were arrested and under what provisions of the law, where they are being held and any organizational or occupational information that is known. The mere publication of such a list is directly counter to the order of the Minister of Justice. Mr. Kruger says he opposes such publication because it might stigmatize possibly innocent persons. The Christian Institute's violation of Kruger's ministerial order virtually guaranteed the suppression of the pamphlet.

For the parents and friends of individuals who have disappeared into the security police net, this 13-page appendix provides valuable information. The desire of the Minister of Justice to avoid stigmatizing possibly innocent persons is laudable, if perhaps laughable. For even he must know that arrest by the security police conveys no trace of stigma. In the tragic society of South Africa, it has become a badge of honor. □

THE MANZO RAID

SWEEPING UP THE ALIENS

MARK DAY

A trial that will begin on March 8 in Tucson, Ariz. may have far-reaching political and legal consequences throughout the United States. It stems from an incident that took place last April 9 in the Chicano barrio of westside Tucson. On that day, ten uniformed officers of the U.S. Border Patrol, accompanied by a U.S. Attorney and a Tucson police officer, entered the offices of the Manzo Area Council, a federally funded social service center, and announced that they were going to impound all the files containing data about the immigrant status of the people the center served.

Ms. Margo Cowan, the 27-year-old director of the center, shook her head with incredulity and asked William Vogel, the U.S. Attorney, "You are going to do what?" Vogel produced a search warrant, warning Cowan that unless she unlocked the door to her office, the officers would kick it down. Within an hour, despite vigorous protests from the director and her staff, the border patrolmen had seized more than 800 files, most of which dealt with senior citizen and youth programs unrelated to the immigration services offered at the center. The implications of this dubious exercise of authority touch the lives of hundreds of thousands of the foreign born now living in this country, raise questions about the thousands of agencies that exist to advise them, and may well affect the disposition of legislation awaiting action by the new Congress.

A few weeks after the Manzo raid, the Border Patrol began a house-to-house sweep for undocumented immigrants, basing their moves on the papers they had acquired from Ms. Cowan's office. She and her assistants have reported that between 150 and 200 people were arrested and deported in the next few months, all of them former clients at the Manzo center. And since then, several other former clients have disappeared. They, too, said Cowan, were probably deported.

Then, in late October, a grand jury charged Cowan and her assistants with twenty-seven counts, ranging from transporting illegal aliens and aiding aliens to elude inspection, to entering false statements, perjury and con-

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spiracy. Cowan was charged on all counts, incurring a possible maximum penalty of seventy-seven years in prison and a $98,000 fine. Also charged was Cathy Montano, 20 (thirteen counts), Margie Ramirez, 22 (twelve counts) and Sister Ann Gabriel Marciacq of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondolet (three counts).

Ms. Cowan, a former United Farm Worker organizer who speaks fluent Spanish, said that harassment by federal authorities began several months before the raid, when Manzo organizers sought to represent a client, Edgardo Mendivil. "Edgardo was close to legalizing his status when he was arrested near his place of employment. We represented him at his hearing, asking that the charges be dropped and that he be put on docket control [house arrest] until his appointment date with the American Embassy in Mexico. The request was denied and he got ninety days in jail."

The excuse for the raid, said Cowan, were allegations that she and her staff were breaking the law by helping undocumented immigrants to receive welfare and food stamps. "The truth is, they couldn't find anything," she said, "not even a technicality we might have been guilty of transgressing." One of the indictments charges her with transporting Alicia Marquez, 15 years old and pregnant, from Manzo to a juvenile court judge so that she could get permission to marry the U.S. citizen who was the father of her unborn child. "This is true," continued Cowan. "She needed the permission in order to legalize her status. But the . . . question is, is it the intent of the law to prohibit transporting people for gain and eluding inspection; or is it to be carried to the point where it prevents people from receiving supportive services they need to legalize their status?"

Immediately after the raid, Cowan and her staff sought the help of Robert Hooker, a Tucson lawyer, who asked a federal judge to order the confiscated property returned. The judge denied the request, announcing that the status of the people under investigation had yet to be determined. The case is now on appeal before the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco.

Subsequently, several Manzo clients filed a class-action suit against the U.S. Attorney, the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the U.S. Border Patrol, charging them with illegal entry, illegal search and seizure, illegal questioning of clients, and improper deportation procedures.

As for the motives behind the raid, Cowan, along with other directors of community action agencies, believes that it is part of an attempt by the INS to weaken the advocacy process on behalf of undocumented immigrants throughout the United States. A few days after the raid, the Manzo defendants held a press conference and charged that the immediate purpose of the raid was not to investigate an immigration counseling service but to gather up more than 400 people who lacked documents and ship them out of the country without due process of law.

Cowan believes that Tucson was singled out because it is a conservative area with weak community organization. "Initially," she said, "we weren't able to put up much resistance against this kind of attack. People were scared at first, but the aftereffects were like a tidal wave. Groups as widely diverse as the Mexican American Chamber of Commerce and the more militant Raza Unida Party came together in support of the defendants.

"The way our people have been treated by the Border Patrol in the past few years has done a lot to politicize the community. People are continually living in fear and waiting for raids in the middle of the night. There have been cases of mothers deported while six or seven of their minor children stayed with relatives and neighbors."

Crucial to the defense in the Manzo case is the sanctity of the client-counselor relationship. Since the raid in April, few undocumented immigrants have dared to come to the center for assistance, knowing that their files might be confiscated by the Border Patrol and used against them in deportation hearings. The case also raises the question of how the term "illegal" should be used. "Illegal aliens," an opprobrious designation, is applied indiscriminately by the press. "We think that 'illegal' is a demeaning word," Margo Cowan said, "and more than that it is very shallow. Most of our clients have never been to a deportation hearing, nor have they had their status defined. They find themselves without documents, but they do not find themselves in an illegal status, technically speaking. This is at the heart of our defense."

She added an urgent footnote. "Furthermore, 20 per cent of our clients are U.S.-born, but can't prove it. Some of them are forced to live in Sonora, Mexico, until they can prove their U.S. citizenship. We are saying that people are not here illegally until they have been adjudicated in some kind of hearing or court of law."

The Manzo Area Council has served its constituents in southern Arizona and northern Sonora for ten years, but became involved in immigration counseling only a year and a half ago, when the Border Patrol became more aggressive in the Tucson area, waiting outside churches and stalking people at laundromats and schools. Cowan and her staff, untrained in immigration counseling, then toured the Southwest, visiting other centers and seeking advice from attorneys and community workers in Los Angeles, Phoenix and other cities. They eventually drafted a proposal for federal funds which stipulated that they would be doing immigration counseling with two goals in mind: explaining to people without resources that they could not immigrate, and providing a comprehensive program for those able to immigrate by helping them fill out applications, gather documents and accompanying them to their appointments. Once their program was underway, they began to attract the unfriendly attention of the Border Patrol and the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and that led to the April 9th raid.

The implications of the Manzo case are far-reaching, since thousands of agencies, attorneys and counselors offer such services from coast to coast. In addition, Cowan and her assistants are receiving letters from schoolteachers, public health nurses, nutritionists and other agency personnel, asking if they, too, will have to check their clients' immigrant status before giving an injection, a

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free lunch or rendering any other services.

On November 26 the *Los Angeles Times* published a strong editorial referring to the prosecution of the Manzo 4 as "bad business." It said that the stated purpose of the raid was to uncover evidence that the counselors were helping aliens make illegal claims for welfare and food stamps. "But apparently," the *Times* continued, "no such evidence was forthcoming. We are left to speculate whether a red-faced Border Patrol then may have sought to cover its embarrassment by going to court to challenge the whole premise of counseling for illegal aliens."

The editorial also referred to the contradictions of federal law which punishes those who counsel undocumented immigrants while ignoring those who exploit them, such as employers, merchants and unscrupulous landlords. "The respect for the system of justice can only be eroded by efforts to deny counsel to those who seek it," concluded the *Times*.

Meanwhile, the Manzo defendants are taking their case to the public, arranging speaking engagements and fund-raisers, and devising a strategy that will include a top-level meeting between sympathetic members of Congress and Griffin B. Bell, the newly appointed U.S. Attorney General, asking the latter to drop the charges and to curb the repressive practices of the INS which have grown to alarming proportions during the Nixon and Ford administrations.

Many observers of immigration law and procedures see the Manzo case as a recurrence of the periodic cycle of repression and scapegoating that is felt whenever the country is beset by economic crisis and inflation. While the raids continue in factories and Hispanic neighborhoods throughout the country (a soccer game and theatre were recently raided in Washington, D.C., with more than 100 arrests), several stringent immigration bills are now before Congress. The most comprehensive bill, H.R. 16188, sponsored by Rep. Peter W. Rodino, (D., N.J.) passed in the House on September 12, 1972 but is still pending in the Senate. It provides three steps before serious measures are taken against employers who knowingly hire undocumented workers. The employer is given two warnings for hiring the workers; if he violates the law a third time, he is subject to a $1,000 fine and/or one year in prison for each undocumented immigrant.

This bill, heavily supported by the AFL-CIO executive board, has met strong opposition from Chicano civil rights groups, who claim that putting the burden on the employer to discover the immigrant status of a worker can only diminish the civil rights of all Americans, especially those of Hispanic descent.

Another bill, by Rep. Joshua Eilberg (D., Pa.) was signed by President Ford on October 20, minutes before the termination of a ten-day period after which it would have received a pocket (automatic) veto. The Eilberg bill, pending in the House for years, had passed once, but was rejected by the Senate because of protests from Chicano and Latino groups. This time, in order to assure its passage, it was held in committee until the day before the 94th Congress adjourned, then sent to the full House as a noncontroversial measure and rushed through the Senate with no opportunity for debate or discussion.

Normally, the bill would have gone to the immigration committee of the Senate, but Sen. James O. Eastland (D., Miss.) asked that it be held at the desk by the Speaker. Then, at the last moment, Eastland asked that the bill be passed by common consent, since it simply "cleaned up a few routine immigration matters."

The "routine" immigration matters Eastland referred to included cutting immigration quotas from Mexico by 60 per cent. Even though the new legislation imposes on the Western Hemisphere the same quotas as have been used for the Eastern Hemisphere, it allots 25 per cent fewer visas to the Western Hemisphere. Under its terms the parents of U.S. citizens and parents of immigrants would no longer qualify for visas. The Senator has also introduced a bill of his own which seeks to reintroduce the controversial *bracero* program. *Braceros* are Mexican workers imported to the United States under contract to work for specified periods of time. A Chicano aide to President Ford has said that Eastland agreed to assure passage of Eilberg's measure if the latter helped him get his own (*bracero*) bill through the House in the coming session.

A previous attempt to extend the *bracero* program was defeated in the late 1960s by the combined efforts of churches and labor unions. Promoted by the agricultural bloc in Congress, of which Eastland is a prominent figure, the program is an economic boon to growers, since the workers can be paid substandard wages and herded into camps, many of them unsanitary to the point of being health hazards. Though the Eastland bill might legalize the presence of hundreds of thousands of otherwise undocumented field workers, it would not stop the exploitation and would continue to thwart union drives to organize farm workers from both the United States and Mexico.

Now the question that arises is whether President Carter will support the present trend for more restrictionist immigration laws and practices. Bert Corona, a long-time Chicano activist, says Carter may have his hands tied, since he was elected with the support of the AFL-CIO and of Senator Eastland's forces in the South. Much will depend on the advisers Carter chooses to guide his immigration policies. One of his strongest supporters, Sen. Alan Cranston (D., Calif.), has said he will urge Carter to appoint persons of "real knowledge and deep sensitivity" to positions of authority in the Immigration Service and other agencies dealing with immigrants.

Such persons will be needed when the trial of the Manzo 4 begins on March 8, for it will be a major test case for those who counsel and aid the hundreds of thousands of undocumented immigrants seeking legal status in the United States. But the implications of the Manzo case go even deeper. Recently a prominent civil liberties attorney wrote to the defendants, offering them his services. "Your case is crucial for all of us," he wrote. "It is a chilling reminder that the knock on the door in the middle of the night is still a very real threat to all freedom-loving Americans." □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Schizophrenia: A Split Verdict

SCHIZOPHRENIA: The Sacred Symbol of Psychiatry. *By Thomas Szasz. Basic Books. 237 pp. $10.*

RUSSELL JACOBY

One of the shibboleths reassuring the political Center is that the Left and Right touch at the extremes. It is true that in an era of administered options, the far Right occasionally sounds like the Left. The "libertarian" Right can mount a charge against the government and bureaucracy that can pass for a Left criticism—if one is only half listening. What is insufferable about the libertarian Right is its fantasy that the state is disrupting the primal order, laissez-faire capitalism. Once Washington and the income tax are thrown into the sea, it is supposed, society with its classes, corruption and corporations will yield milk and honey.

Faced with the libertarian critique, it is easy for the Left to succumb to defending the state it also wants to criticize, or at least to argue that the issues are more complex: the state is not only this it is also that; the income tax is not only unjust it is also just. But this does not go to the nub of the matter; rather the conservative critique, when it is not hypocritical, is superficial. For all its anger and denunciation it cannot think in *social* terms; it cannot grasp that the phenomena it despises—the state and bureaucracy—are deeply entangled, if not produced, by the phenomenon it embraces: society.

Thomas Szasz is situated at the very point where the Left and Right *appear* to intersect; because of this he enjoys a reputation as a radical critic. In a series of books, in which this is the latest, Szasz has blasted the medical establishment and in particular, its psychiatric and mental health sector. With singular purpose and stamina, he has continuously denounced the corruption and illegitimate power of institutional psychiatry. For Szasz institutional psychiatry by means of involuntary confinement and "labeling" forms a widening web of social control. Yet his critique, for all its power, is welded to a conservative politics and philosophy that ultimately sap it of force. The optical illusion dissipates, and Szasz is seen for what he is, at best a conservative gadfly, and at worst, an enthusiastic apologist.

This book is firmly grounded in his earlier ones, *The Myth of Mental Illness* and *The Manufacture of Madness*. Here he unmasks schizophrenia as the latest fraud perpetrated on the public. According to Szasz, schizophrenia is a myth, a religion, a phantasy or "the greatest scandal of our scientific age." "There is, in short, no such thing as schizophrenia." Those who invented the term, and those who followed them, were not so much doctors as policemen and prison wardens; they sought to control and dominate. By labeling people "schizophrenic" they were able to incarcerate them in state institutions and hospitals. The phenomenon itself—schizophrenia—has no actual existence. "Psychiatry creates schizophrenia." The conclusion? Abolish institutional psychiatry and—*voilà*—schizophrenia disappears: "If there is no psychiatry, there can be no schizophrenia."

If this sounds simplistic, it is. What it lacks in depth, however, it gains by repetition. A tireless proponent, Szasz repeats his charge a hundred ways and times. For two reasons the argument has substance. Nearly everyone agrees that "schizophrenia" is a vague term subsuming a number of phenomena that are perhaps not related. In a precise sense one can argue that schizophrenia does not exist as a distinct entity; it is rather a series of separate illnesses. While Szasz's argument converges with this, it is not his. He wants to abolish schizophrenia as a category, not so as to replace it with a better and more accurate conceptualization; rather he wants to abolish the category and with it the phenomenon —or disease—in a single act.

Secondly, Szasz is important and engaging in his unceasing denunciation of the involuntary incarceration of the "mentally" ill or, more precisely, those labeled mentally ill. This is his best case, and the one he has made in all his books. Each day brings news of poor souls finally released—alive, half-alive, or dead —after decades of confinement in a state institution despite all protest and reason. The public institution is an instrument of domination; Szasz, with justice, hammers away at this. He defends with no qualification the rights and liberties of the individual against doctors, the state, bureaucracy, politicians, or whatever.

Yet Szasz the civil libertarian easily slips into Szasz the individualist; he has also denounced community health programs as violating the rights of the individual. For Szasz the state per se is the evil. He stands squarely within a stubborn conservative tradition dreaming that the world divides along "individualist" and "collectivist" principles. In this picture Marxists, Communists, National Socialists plus bureaucrats in the "free" world are collectivists busily planning away the freedom of the individual. Szasz represents a somewhat unfashionable cold-war position, defending the "free" world against the Left and their co-conspirators, liberal bureaucrats. He states with genuine revulsion that R.D. Laing and the anti-psychiatry movement are part of the "Marxian anti-capitalism" nexus. Their view of schizophrenia "mirrors faithfully the envious [?] fulminations of modern Marxists and Communists who attribute the poverty of 'underdeveloped' peoples to their being robbed, mainly by Americans. . . ."

Szasz's political pronouncements are not asides; they are embedded in the structure of the analysis. The philosophical foundations of his thought are derived from conservative thinkers such as F.A. Hayek (*The Road to Serfdom*) and Karl Popper (*The Open Society and its Enemies*). Hayek and Popper sniffed totalitarianism whenever society was evaluated and transformed in the name of "science." The guilty here were Hegel, Marx, and socialism. The evil consisted in the transfer of the methods and facts of the strict natural sciences, which discovered general laws, to society and the "human" sciences, which defied general laws; this transfer brought in its wake totalitarian state planning. They claimed that state planning—liberal, Socialist, Fascist—depended on generalizations about the nature of society which the very complexity of the social reality precluded. State planning, and its philosophical presuppositions—general social laws—spelled the eclipse of individual freedom.

Russell Jacoby is the author of Social Amnesia: A Critique of Conformist Psychology from Adler to Laing *(Beacon Press). He currently teaches in the History Department of the University of California, Los Angeles.*

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CONTEST FOR NEW POETS

"Discovery—THE NATION, '77" has been opened jointly by The Poetry Center of the 92nd Street YM-YWHA in New York City and THE NATION. The competition, now in its third year, represents a fusion of The Poetry Center's "Discovery" contest and THE NATION's poetry prize. It is designed to attract larger audiences for young poets through the combined media of publication and poetry recital.

Winners of the 1976 contest were Philip Schultz, Mary Swander, Jane Teller and Ellen Bryant Voigt. They gave a group reading at The Poetry Center on May 3, and their poems appeared in THE NATION of May 1.

Contest Information:

OPEN to poets whose work has not yet been published in book form. Book form includes chapbooks (small editions) and self-published books.

REQUIREMENTS: Ten poems (not more than 500 lines) of original poetry in English are to be submitted.

THE AWARDS: Each of the four winners will receive an honorarium of $50 and will be invited to read at The Poetry Center on Monday, May 2, 1977. Each winner will have one previously unpublished poem printed in THE NATION magazine.

MANUSCRIPT DETAILS: Submit four complete sets of the ten poems, each set securely fastened. Your name, biographical information and information indicating whether a particular poem has been published should not appear on the poems. Instead, a separate cover page should include your name, address and phone number. Manuscripts will not be returned, so please retain a copy of your submission. THE NATION reserves the right to publish at its regular rates any previously unpublished poems.

JUDGING will take place in April; winners will be chosen by judges whose names will be announced after the contest is over.

DEADLINE for receipt of poems: February 25, 1977.

SEND ALL ENTRIES TO: The Poetry Center of the 92nd Street YM-YWHA, 1395 Lexington Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10028. (212) 427-6000. Direct inquiries to Betsy Dunn, Assistant to the Director, The Poetry Center.

This is exactly Szasz's position, and the fount of his critique of the psychiatric establishment. Like them, Szasz makes a sharp distinction between the natural and social reality in which the social dimension is said to lie outside a scientific analysis. For Szasz biological medicine is the proper domain of doctors, science and facts where the layman must not tread. But the nonbiological or mental dimension is not a scientific universe; it is an ethical and social one where the state and medical terminology are illegitimate. The concepts here follow Hayek and Popper; the social domain is composed of individual units that preclude social and political generalizations (and actions). What is nonbiological, nonchemical and nonfactual can only be judged (and treated) as individual interactions.

The absolute distinction between biological and "mental" disorders is both unsupportable and regressive. Szasz states endlessly that disease exists only where there are measurable chemical and physiological changes in the body; where this cannot be shown there is in fact no illness. As he states "cadavers can have diabetes and syphilis, but cannot have depression and schizophrenia."

Szasz is puzzling because it appears as if he is at least seeking to demystify and politicize nonbiological mental medicine. But in fact his bifurcated vision of the world neatly liquidates political analysis and solutions from both dimensions. To him biological medicine is, and should be, the nonpolitical realm of facts and science; and the nonbiological is rendered in the realm of individual contracts which elude general political analysis.

If anything Szasz is most vulnerable where he thinks he is most secure. He is certain that where there are bodily diseases a political analysis is extraneous and impossible. His categories do not permit any interaction between hard facts and political realities. It is late in the day to believe this, but Szasz is oblivious; he does not mention, much less counter, the overwhelming evidence that physical diseases are informed, defined and caused by the political and social environment. The relationship between cancer and environmental pollutants is not esoteric; a line runs from corporate profits to cigarettes to lung cancer. The relationship between a social and political environment, including work conditions, and physical health—cancer, birth defects, "accidents"—is the story of our time, but not for Szasz.

Once this half of Szasz's position falls away, it brings with it the other half. It cannot be maintained that "mental" diseases lack a chemical or biological dimension; nor that they defy a general and social analysis. There is no need to dogmatically choose here, as Szasz's categories dictate. That many mental disorders may possess a chemical substratum no way precludes that their real cause is embedded in social relations; nor does a political analysis, conversely, preclude that drugs might play a role in treatment. The point is not simply to argue that the world is more complex than Szasz conceives; rather his concepts are retrograde in their inability to allow any mediation between political relations and individual sickness. Szasz is an either/or thinker; he knows only biological and asocial illness or nonbiological and individual interactions.

The philosophical individualism that inspires Szasz's critique exacts a heavy toll. For Szasz is unable to explain the phenomenon he is denouncing, and because he is unable to think in social terms he reverts to conspiracy theories. While one of his books is called *The Manufacture of Madness* he has in fact no understanding of it; he is unable to fathom schizophrenia or mental illness as social phenomena. In this book, his "history" of schizophrenia is telling. According to Szasz, schizophrenia is an invention of evil doctors with the collaboration of a sector of society; it has no social roots.

It is not by chance that Szasz often sounds like a half-baked atheist denouncing religion, or more precisely, an original Protestant railing at the Papists. The title, as well as the text, often compares schizophrenia and psychiatry to religion and a state priesthood. (See also his *Ceremonial Chemistry*.) His failing is exactly that of a simple atheist critique of religion, rarely heard nowadays. Religion, in this charge, is only a money-sucking scheme spawned by a corrupt priesthood. Any critique of religion, at least since Feuerbach and Marx, must admit it is more than this; the religion of love is also a response to a loveless world. Such is the case too with schizophrenia; it is more than Papal rituals. It is also a response to a schizophrenic reality.

Szasz will have none of this. What little he says about the emergence of schizophrenia, aside from the fact that it is a doctor's plot, is not much. His best argument is that the schizophrenic is someone other people do not like; labeled schizophrenic, the victim is locked up. What little else he says only shows the limits of Szasz's ethos of laissez-faire capitalism. The schizophrenic is

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someone who will not grow up and get a job; Szasz practically says this. In a belabored comparison of husbands and wives to psychiatrists and patients, Szasz advises both wives and patients to make a break for economic independence. ". . . The only way to overcome their [the mental patient's] subjection is by both economic and personal independence from psychiatrists. This means that 'psychotics' should not expect to be supported by psychiatrists (society) as patients, but must support themselves by work salable in the market place." So much for Szasz's prescription.

Again this is not a political aside; it emerges directly out of his analysis. His critique always begins exactly where the individual and cash nexus ends. Nothing incenses him more than state institutions packed with freeloading "patients." His primal charge against Laing is that he is bilking the taxpayer. "The cost of care of the 'residents' in the Laingian asylums is mainly borne by the British taxpayer. . . . Ironically, while Laing's tongue lashes society for driving people mad, his hands are picking the taxpayer's pockets."

In sum, Szasz blasts society with all the explosive force of a popgun. In the stifling air of technocratic capitalism, the pop occasionally reverberates. Szasz as civil libertarian has something to say; he defends the individual against state and medical domination with the ardor of an 18th-century radical. But Szasz even at his best speaks in the name of the society he decries. He represents a more elemental form of domination, plain competition, against its successor, state-regulated competition. Inasmuch as the latter is not far from the former, Szasz is hardly a critic. He only wants to disestablish medicine and balance the budget. Illness, schizophrenia (and state religion) hardly disappear; they are just put on a pay-as-you-go basis. □

A Stranger to Narrow Fashion

TO HAVE OR TO BE? *By Erich Fromm. Edited by Ruth Nanda Anshen. Harper & Row. 215 pp. $8.95.*

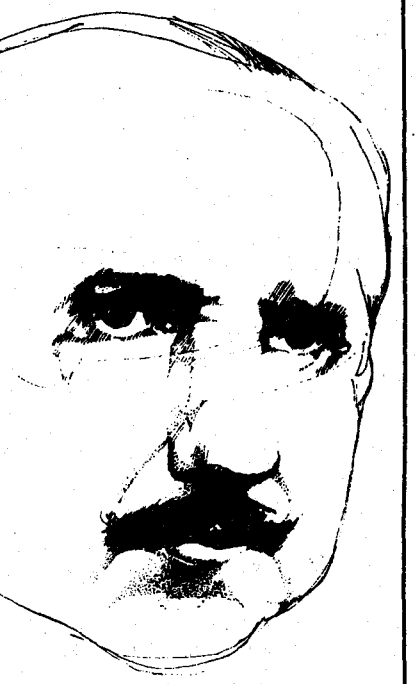
PAUL ROAZEN

In the history of ideas it is customary for the reputations of thinkers to fluctuate cyclically. It is more unusual, however, for a living writer to have endured major changes in fashion. Among intellectuals Erich Fromm commands little current interest. *To Have or to Be?*, Fromm's twenty-second book, appeared early last fall, and although it was the selection of a major book club it has met with critical silence. This new book is a restatement of Fromm's present theoretical position, and one might explain the absence of reviews by the familiarity of many of its themes. But the appearance in 1973 of Fromm's *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*, a major statement, did little to alert the intellectual community to the misunderstandings that have grown up around the contributions of this seminal thinker.

The publication of Fromm's *Escape from Freedom* (1941) was a notable event in modern intellectual history. *Man for Himself: An Inquiry into the Psychology of Ethics* (1947) also illustrated the power of his mind. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s students read and respected Fromm's publications, and tried to keep up with the flow of his new books. Perhaps Fromm's fecundity has helped to deter his success in the high culture. But the climate of opinion has also shaped the response to Fromm's work. Socially he has been the most radical of psychoanalytic thinkers. He is concerned with the pathology of normality, and considers it legitimate to speak of an "insane" society and of what happens to sane people within it. Paradoxically, Fromm's reputation went into an eclipse in North America during the turbulent 1960s, yet in the preceding (supposedly more conservative) decades he was widely acclaimed as a pundit. Just as Jung's reputation as a depth psychologist, despite his political misjudgments about the Nazis, is finally on the upswing, in the long run Fromm will undoubtedly get the credit he deserves. No living psychoanalyst has tried more relentlessly to reconcile Freud and Marx.

Part of Fromm's problem has come from his lack of association with one of the more prestigious research universities on this continent, and here he might well feel vindicated in his belief that the more famous centers of learning propagate support for the status quo. It has taken courage and originality on Fromm's part to establish himself as someone to be heard without the support either of conventional academic life

Paul Roazen teaches social and political science at York University in Toronto. His most recent book is Erik H. Erikson: The Power and Limits of a Vision *(The Free Press, Macmillan).*



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or the mainstream of the psychoanalytic movement. Other conformist pressures have worked against him. Literary critics, if only by virtue of their command of language, exert a critical weight beyond their special fields; and they have on the whole sided, when they have been at all receptive to psychoanalytic thought, against the revisionist school.

Sectarianism has undercut the place Fromm deserves. It is not surprising, given the prior controversies in the history of psychoanalysis, that although a landmark in social science, *Escape from Freedom* was greeted with savage reviews by Freudians insistent on preserving the purity of their dogmas. Psychoanalysis, like other organizations, has thrived on having both heroes and villains, and it was Fromm's fate to become an object of scorn among orthodox psychoanalytic followers. He found himself dropped from the direct membership list of the International Psychoanalytic Association, and like other so-called heretics his writings have been blacklisted at most training centers. Although his books continue to be widely purchased by the public, professionally Fromm has been ignored rather than criticized responsibly. It is perhaps the inevitable fate of dissidents that they must each go their own way. Fromm once published a critique of Otto Rank, and has been at times too hard on Jung. He has been allied with such original thinkers as Harry Stack Sullivan, Clara Thompson and Karen Horney, and yet none of these people has been able to match organizationally the ranks of "official" psychoanalysis.

While from an outsider's point of view Fromm has remained an analyst loyal to the broad Freudian tradition, he has also been a Socialist. But even here sectarianism undermined his stature within the intellectual elite. Fromm was an early member of the Frankfurt school of critical sociology, and his bitterest critic has been a former co-worker, Herbert Marcuse. In a famous exchange, originally published in *Dissent*, Fromm tried to defend himself against Marcuse's attack. Marcuse cannot be entirely blamed for the slavish way his own disciples have continued either to attack Fromm or to denigrate his contributions. But combined with the opposition of establishment psychoanalysis, the sectarianism of the Left (aided by Paul Goodman's critique of Freudian revisionism) gave Fromm little basis for potential supporters.

When he was 22 he received his Ph.D. from the University of Heidelberg for a thesis on the sociology of three Jewish sects. Subsequently he underwent psychoanalytic training and graduated from the Berlin Psychoanalytic Society in 1931. He recalls having spent about ten years as an orthodox Freudian, although he never had any personal contact with the founder of psychoanalysis. In its early years psychoanalysis attracted more illustrious, and less conformist, practitioners than is apt to be the case today in North America. Fromm's first wife, Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, was a pioneer in the development of new therapeutic techniques. In 1934 they moved to New York, and then in 1949 Fromm himself left for Mexico where he launched a psychoanalytic institute. Like other post-Freudian thinkers such as Erik Erikson and Bruno Bettelheim, his writings have moved from their psychological and social moorings toward philosophical and moral issues. Such psychoanalysts have helped to fill the gap left by the fashionable narrowness of contemporary professional philosophy.

No revisionist Freudian has been writing for as long as Fromm, nor has any reached a broader public, shown more independence of thought, or possessed more conceptual ability. He helped introduce important alterations in the 1930s brand of psychoanalysis. Turning away from the pessimism of Freud's instinct theory, Fromm insisted on the potential significance of changes in the social environment as a means of altering the human condition. In a field where it is still possible for writers to treat Freud's case histories as sacred texts, Fromm has been bold in challenging Freud's clinical practices. Early on he recognized the social prejudices incorporated in the traditional psychoanalytic conception of women. Sociologists advise that the way to advance oneself professionally is to write for one's peers, but within psychoanalysis Fromm has had few equals, and his early associates are now long dead. So in the end his strategy of appealing to the book-buying public may have been the only recourse open to him.

Freud was not much interested, aside from criticizing sexual mores, in the social sources of suffering and exploitation. Fromm, on the other hand, has been intrigued by the way our culture fosters conformist tendencies by suppressing spontaneous feelings and thereby crippling the development of genuine individuality: "human beings are more afraid of being outcasts than even of dying." Following the earlier interest in character structure shown by Jung and Wilhelm Reich, although loyally citing Freud's own limited efforts at character typology, Fromm developed his concept of "social character" to explain how societies produce and reproduce the personality types they need to perpetuate themselves. Social character gets molded by the economy, and in turn dominant character traits shape the social process. As external necessity gets internalized in the psyche, human energy is harnessed for a given economic or social system. In this way we become what we are expected to be.

Instead of seeing the unconscious as something frightening, Fromm holds that truth is repressed by an unconscious which is basically socially determined. He also thinks that too often we fear our superior potentialities, and in particular the ability to develop as autonomous and free individuals. He traces destructiveness to the unlived life rather than to a mythical death instinct. If cruelty is one of the ways of making sense of life, it only illustrates Fromm's theory that character-rooted passions should be considered psychosocial phenomena.

Fromm is fundamentally a religious person in the prophetic tradition. His occasionally sanctimonious tone has often obscured his critical acumen. To Freud sentimentality of any sort awakened fears of personal weakness and passivity. If Freud avoided piousness he could at times be moralistic; in books like *Future of an Illusion* and *Civilization and Its Discontents* he sought to overturn traditional Western standards of ethics. Beneath Fromm's religious piety lies a genuinely bold spirit. Both Fromm and Freud likened themselves to great rabbis. In *To Have or to Be?* Fromm identifies with Rabbi Jochanan ben Sakai, as Freud had done in his *Moses and Monotheism*. Even in his accounts of clinical work Freud gave his readers more comfort than he liked to acknowledge. It is reassuring to be led to think one is tough-minded. Freud's therapy was characteristically more supportive than his ideal of aloofness might lead one to suppose.

A certain snobbery deters some people from admiring a writer who becomes world famous. However lowbrow a popular book like Fromm's *The Art of Loving* (1957) may appear to be, he is doing something important for intelligent readers in need of spiritual guidance. For Fromm selfishness is not, as in Freud, the same as self-love. Fromm thinks they are opposites, and therefore the possibility for altruism as an aspect of self-expression becomes a real one. Yet there are grounds for questioning Fromm's capacity to convince. He lacks Freud's irony, the Viennese sense of play and feeling for the absurd. As a writer

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Freud had a superb dramatic sense whereas Fromm's books weigh heavily now. At times Fromm does not sound ignorant enough, as when he asserts in *To Have or to Be?* that "we know almost everything that is important to know about human behavior. . . ." Freud was grandiose, but at least at times he liked to emphasize how little we can understand. The combination of certainty and skepticism in Freud helps account for his enduring popular appeal.

To Have or to Be? is not easy reading, but it does manage to present the viewpoint and challenge of "radical humanistic psychoanalysis." In keeping with his long-held view that selfishness and altruism are different character orientations, in his new book he presents two alternative modes of existence: the mode of having and the mode of being. A feature of what Fromm sees as the crisis of contemporary life is that society is too much centered around things rather than around persons. The "having" mode is represented in the alienation of consumerism, and the "having" mode's predominance is reflected, Fromm thinks, in the growing use of nouns and the decreasing use of verbs in the Western world. Whereas Freud liked to debunk the legitimacy of altruism, Fromm has tried to combat egocentricity. Too often we hold our ego as a possession, the basis for identity, a thing.

In addition to egotism Fromm sets out here to combat greed and human passivity, bewailing the prevalence in the modern world of competition, antagonism and fear. We are, he says, unduly bound to our own egos. Like other thinkers he distinguishes between subjectively felt needs and objectively valid ones. For Fromm the existence of a desire does not in itself constitute an ethical norm. He has in mind the aim of self-realization; for him self-affirmation is a process of exercising human reason in a productive activity. He attacks Marcuse for encouraging a hedonistic return to childhood instead of holding maturity as the ultimate goal of socialism.

Fromm contends that reason properly exercised will lead to an ethic of love. But he distinguishes his own views from those of Freud. Love for Fromm is a process both self-renewing and self-increasing: "selfishness and laziness are not the only propensities inherent in human beings. We human beings have an inherent and deeply rooted desire to be: to express our faculties, to be active, to be related to others, to escape the prison cell of selfishness." Society has aimed not, as Freud thought, to repress sex, but to vilify sex for the sake of breaking the human will. Social conformism succeeds to the extent that it breaks our independence without our even being aware of it. In searching for "guidance to a non-theistic, yet religious, philosophy of life" Fromm is no longer committed to a theory of progress. Like other Central European refugees he now hints that there has been a decline in the spirit of society at least since the 13th century. When he refers to Jesus he does not have organized religion in mind, and he divorces Marx from what he calls "the vulgar forgery presented by Soviet Communism."

Fromm concludes *To Have or to Be?* by suggesting resolutions of what he sees as our central social crisis. Outside of proposing the creation of a new humanist body of experts who are to create guidelines to be submitted to the citizenry for discussion, Fromm is left with mainly hortatory proposals to encourage social change. He is not optimistic in his utopianism but he retains a "faith" in humanity's capacity to extricate itself from the catastrophic circumstances it has created.

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The Blasted Nursery

FOOTHOLDS: Understanding the Shifting Sexual and Family Tensions in Our Culture. *By Philip Slater. Edited by Wendy Slater Palmer. E.P. Dutton & Co. 227 pp. Paper $4.95.*

EDGAR Z. FRIEDENBERG

Footholds is Philip Slater's most arresting book so far. It is studded with the kinds of insights which result from his exceptionally fresh way of looking at familiar relationships. Nevertheless the book is harder to characterize than his *The Pursuit of Loneliness*, because it is less well organized. *Footholds* was culled by its editor, Wendy Slater Palmer, from papers selected by Philip Slater; some are unpublished and one of them was written as a summary to the present volume. Ms. Palmer has done an excellent job of making the collection read as smoothly as if it had been conceived as a single work; but she has not quite managed to give *Footholds* the sharp focus of a work constructed as a unit.

There is, in any case, a difficulty that any reviewer of Slater's writing must face in trying to convey its consistently high quality. As a social psychologist or psychic sociologist Slater has chosen to do serious and disciplined, yet highly speculative, work in an area that lies at the center of current patterns of anxiety, an area which is, as a consequence, crowded with the pronouncements of gurus and other fast-buck artists. *Footholds* is subtitled "Understanding the Shifting Sexual and Family Tensions in Our Culture" and risks being classed with more pretentious works whose significance derives from their status as cultural artifacts rather than from their content. The standard precaution against this sort of confusion is to base one's writings on "hard," quantitative data, but to do so would betray Slater's purpose at the outset. One of the most useful things a reviewer of *Footholds* can do for a prospective reader, therefore, is to put her (as Slater would say) on notice that this is neither a prospectus for yet another approach to group therapy nor one more treatise on the decline of everything in Western civilization—though it is closer to the latter than the former. Much easier to read than *Eros and Civilization*, much less a collection of glittering chips than *Love's Body*, *Footholds* shares the same concerns. But Slater, in this book, is cooler than either Marcuse or Brown, enough so that he manages to take an astonishingly nonpartisan view of the struggle between Eros and civilization. When I finished the book, I found myself ready to concede that it was not only likely but appropriate, that this struggle should end in a dead heat.

Slater's point of departure is the psychodynamic truism that a better world might develop if, throughout the world, one generation of parents were able to rear their children with respect and affection. The vicious circle that leads to dehumanization, envy and global if not yet cosmic destructiveness, would then be broken. Fortunately Slater does not waste his readers' time in utopian fantasy about this unlikely prospect. Instead, he uses the issue heuristically, to help him and his readers analyze why this never happens, even on a small scale.

The central clue to the puzzle is to be found in the universal oppression of women. Like Ariadne's thread, this concern has run through all Slater's work and in *Footholds* it leads, if not out of the labyrinth, to a superbly detailed view of the Minotaur. In a brilliant set of reflections on the place of women in ancient Greece, Slater notes:

> The social position of women and the psychological influence of women are thus quite separate matters. The Greek

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male's contempt for women was tightly bound to an intense fear of them and to an underlying suspicion of male inferiority. Why else would such extreme measures be necessary? Modern-day customs—such as the rule that a woman should not be older than her husband, of higher social status, more educated, paid the same as a male for the same work, or in a position of authority—show that males feel they are incapable of competing with females on an equal basis: The cards must first be stacked, the male given a handicap.

But why? Slater's explanation is plausible, and familiar. Most males have experienced for the first several years of their lives near total dependency on their parents, specifically their mothers. The first image of woman to be implanted on the heart and mind of every little boy is of an omnipotent goddess and, unfortunately, not always a benign or trustworthy one. For aside from the inevitable confusion that must develop as the infant, knowing no other explanation, attributes misfortune to the withdrawal or hostility of the mother, there is plenty of genuine hostility and sexual exploitiveness for most boys to cope with. These are the negative consequences of the mother's own deprivations, and of her attempts to concentrate dominance in the domestic sphere where she can make it stick. So it goes.

Not all small boys are so unfortunate, of course. But those who are not may well lack the desperate drive that brings social and political, let alone economic, power. (I hope Slater's next book will deal with the recurrent American problem of The President's Mother, especially the mothers of highly active Presidents. Both Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt were clearly afflicted, and the problem does not seem to have abated.) Society and the economic process seem destined to be dominated by men who fear women; and, indeed, social institutions depend and perhaps have always depended on this relationship to maximize productivity. If Chairman Mao was an exception to this rule, the fact that he was seems to have infuriated his successors, who were quick to destroy his widow as soon as he died. Franklin Roosevelt, certainly, was no respecter of Eleanor, while no tyrant has ever treated his wife worse than the saintly Gandhi. Saints, indeed, usually know enough to remain celibate.

It is, however, in leaving this familiar though fundamental ground that *Footholds* becomes most engrossing, though not always convincing. If the major forces of oppression and authoritarianism are inevitably rooted in the parent-child relationship and hence in the family, then there is reason for Slater to observe:

> I believe, however, that any group that intervenes between parent and child and attempts to regulate and modify the parent-child relationship *will have a democratizing impact on that relationship regardless of its intent.* (Italics Slater's.) For however much the state or community may wish to inculcate obedience and submission in the child, its intervention betrays (*1*) a lack of confidence in the parents, and (*2*) an overwhelming interest in the future development of the child—in other words, a child-centered orientation.

Slater attempts to anticipate the obvious objections to this idea which are based on the Nazi and Soviet experience. He attributes the Nazis' difficulties in maintaining authority to the fact that in attacking the family they unintentionally liberated individuals. But I do not think he makes his case; and I think, on his own terms, his thesis is fatally flawed. For authoritarian regimes do not, in attacking the family, "betray . . . an overwhelming interest in the future development of the child—in other words, a child-centered orientation." They betray the child herself. Today's example, tragic and disgusting as any other, is that of the Thai Boy Scouts, leading the authorities in their attack on the students in Thammasat and other universities out of sheer delight in patriotism with no apparent political conviction. This may be fun; but democratizing, it isn't.

Slater is also engrossing in his analysis of the clever ways in which societies institutionalize their opposition to the kinds of one-to-one love relationships that might really be strong enough to resist socialization. In myth and drama such efforts to resist always end tragically. At no point in *Romeo and Juliet* does either lover speak the lines:

> Enough, then, of this shit! Let us to horse;
> And, from Verona, banish all remorse.

though the argument of the play seems to evoke them. In real life, dyadic relationships rarely work out much better, though society is sometimes comic rather than tragic in its interventions, as witnessed by the practice of "swinging" as a way of trivializing if not loosening the marital bond.

The most universal social arrangements for cooling out relationships so strong that they might permit those who shared them to ignore the world well lost are, of course, incest taboos. This, basically, is Slater's explanation for their prevalence, and here there is a curious gap in his account. For, as Yehudi Cohen main-

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tained in his now classic book on *The Transition from Childhood to Adolescence*, the incest taboo is needed even more in the service of privacy than of socialization. Without it, the son, especially, is likely to be driven mad by the intensity of the mother's demands, or he may succumb to a virulent form of Portnoy's complaint. Slater, psychologist though he is, does not consider the psychological protection afforded by these social mechanisms which shield the family from nuclear fission. There is something correspondingly curious, too, about his consistently neutral-to-approving use of the word "seduction" to refer to the process by which a society persuades rebels who have not got too far out to return to orbit. Seduction, as Slater uses the term to refer to *social* relationships takes on a healing connotation and yet it retains its usual undertone of hostility when applied to dyadic relationships.

Footholds surely raises more questions than it answers, and its most interesting passages are not its most convincing ones. But these are minor flaws in a book that succeeds so well in giving its readers a fresh look at the way of the world, and substantial grounds for understanding, if not for optimism. □

ART

LAWRENCE ALLOWAY

The director of the Whitney Museum of American Art announced that "the 1977 Biennial will be devoted *for the most part* to work by artists who had their first *decisive* influence in the 1970s" (my emphases). It is insolent to suggest that Alfred Jenson, Agnes Martin and H.C. Westerman wasted their time until the 1970s came along, but the real problem is not there. The trouble is that the Whitney is affirming its allegiance to current art in the same terms that have corroded its recent annual, now biennial, survey shows. The show opens on February 19, but there is no reason not to comment on it now, since on the whole it is so completely familiar. It continues the policy of dependence upon dealers that has sapped curatorial initiative at the museum for the past ten years.

The fault of the new show, as of its predecessors, is a socio-stylistic narrowness that follows from the museum's overdependence on constricted sources. About twenty-five of the artists (almost half the total) come from a handful of galleries: Castelli, Sonnabend, Weber (all at 420 West Broadway, a real curatorial convenience when shopping), Paula Cooper and the (now defunct) Bykert Galleries. Realists, women artists in all styles, and artists from "peripheral" galleries are slighted by the choice. There are already rumors of a counter biennial.

What would be an effective anti-Whitney show? The criterion of dissent would not be satisfied if, say, neglected 57th Street dealers set up their own show, for that would just look like the Whitney annual of a few years back. The initiative properly lies with the artists. However, they should demand of themselves more than an ad hoc exhibition of *refusées*, hanging one another's work in a borrowed loft. Artists should recall how little attention has been paid to their past dissent. Women artists protested the low representation of their sex in the Whitney Annual for 1971. This year there are in the exhibition by my rough count of the press release, forty-three men and fourteen women—about a 3-to-1 advantage for the men. It is apparent that the Whitney staff considers itself free to operate without reference to sexual disparity in the biennials.

As it happens, there has been just recently an exhibition that was implicitly anti-Whitney. Called "Artists' Choice: Figurative Art in New York," it was arranged by the realist co-operatives—the Bowery, First Street, and Prince Street Galleries—along with the Green Mountain Gallery, a sympathetic commercial place. Between December 11 and January 5 a concordance of group shows gave the first opportunity for a broad view of current realist practice. I did not write about the show here, because I had contributed to the catalogue and these days everybody is watching for conflict of interest.

"Artists' Choice," timely though it was, suffered from a certain parochialism in the selections by the co-op artists' jury. And the shows, spread through half a dozen galleries, were uniformly ill hung. These weaknesses lessened the occasion's impact on a skeptical general audience. The jury assumed that it could count on good will and curiosity, but of course it could not. Thus the show was vulnerable to criticism that could have been avoided. The point is that, if there is to be an explicitly anti-Whitney exhibition, it should be selected critically and presented coherently. Any awkwardnesses in the protesting show will only seem to confirm the Whitney's taste by default.

One of the artists missing from "Artists' Choice" was Shirley Gorelick who is showing new paintings at SoHo 20 (until February 2). Her work is as strong and considered as ever, but with a new lyrical undercurrent. This comes through most fully in a large painting of "Three Sisters," each one of whom appears twice, once nude, once loosely robed. Thus three become a crowd, but the echoes of paired likenesses and family resemblance imply a pattern of kinship. The girls, all posed toward the spectator, stand in a garden, ankle-deep in leaves, against an overgrown wall. There is no horizon line so the overall impression is of a dark green, bosky tapestry with strong implications of the double theme, like a club of *Doppelgängers*.

However the models are studied attentively, so that to the psychological atmosphere created by the doubling and the alternation of bodies and drapery, is added a realistic core. These are the overweight adolescent girls of late 20th-century America, losing their waistlines and with creased stomachs. Gorelick's way of painting solidifies surface and detail into dense, cameo-like pigment. The heavy women and the evocative garden are unified in a single skin of paint. The painting is an extraordinary visualization of the quotidian and psychic aspects of adolescence.

After "Artists' Choice" at the Prince Street Gallery, one of the co-op's members, Marion Lerner Levine, showed a group of new still lifes. In oil and watercolor she has developed a high-keyed range of color combined with curt and shaky contours. The effect is of an imagery of fugitive forms and constant light. Her subject matter is taken from the kitchen shelf and table, rows and heaps of cans, usually imported, ablaze with European romanticism. On the labels tomatoes flourish as if growing in the kitchen; swans curve their necks; long-skirted figures proffer rich baskets. The cans are like little glowing chunks of Mediterranean folklore and climate. Her skill and wit are a reminder of the abilities that abound in realist art, but of which "Artists' Choice" did not give a convincing impression. So, if there is to be a counter biennial it should rest on a critical stance. If it does not, the good work will not be truly visible. □

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MUSIC / David Hamilton

Moribund for at least a half century, the grand operas of Giacomo Meyerbeer—the most ambitious, prestigious and expensive form of musical theatre before Richard Wagner—have pretty steadily resisted attempts at revival. Like beached whales, the corpses of *Robert le Diable* (1831), *Les Huguenots* (1836), *Le Prophète* (1849) and *L'Africaine* (1865) lie astride the history of opera, apparently beyond more than temporary and artificial respiration. Their collapse was precipitate: *Le Prophète*, which achieved 100 performances in Paris within twenty-eight months of its première, and 500 within fifty years, hasn't been played there since 1918. Except for two performances of *Les Huguenots* in 1927, no Meyerbeer opera has been staged at London's Covent Garden since 1912. And although the Metropolitan Opera in New York gave *L'Africaine* a belated lease on life in the 1920s and early 1930s, the house's new production of *Le Prophète* is the first Meyerbeer heard there in more than four decades.

In cultural history, these works parallel the extravagant dramas of Victor Hugo, the novels of Sir Walter Scott: actions relating to contemporary issues (often with a revolutionary or libertarian aspect) are played out in historical settings. But Eugène Scribe's librettos are shaped entirely with a view to creating striking situations, surprises, spectacles: "effects without causes," as Wagner said—and he should have known as librettist and composer of *Rienzi*, a barefaced imitation of the Meyerbeer genre (see Hamilton: *The Nation*, January 22).

Wagner, even at that early stage, was a composer of genius. Meyerbeer wasn't, and the life he breathes into Scribe's machinery is fitful at best. His greatest limitation is his apparent inability to conceive musical ideas of any breadth or span; his pieces are assembled rather than imagined, constructed mechanically from rhythmic cells, scales and arpeggio figures of the most conventional kind. His climaxes are built—and impressively—by main force, for he knows how to orchestrate, how to exercise voices spectacularly. One doesn't wonder that he spent years polishing his operas before entrusting them to the stage—*Le Prophète* was completed in 1843 and then waited six years for performance. The effort to dress up the essential poverty of the ideas, to distract the attention, must have been enormous.

It wasn't, I suspect, the opportunism of Scribe's librettos (whose language is as shabby as their stagecraft is skillful) that sank Meyerbeer's operas—rather the opposite: as long as the sentiments and subject matter of the operas were in vogue, the musical poverty was tolerated, especially since Meyerbeer furnished ample opportunities for vocal display to an age that valued this greatly. And in the meantime every opera composer from Wagner and Verdi to Mussorgsky was able to learn from Meyerbeer and write the works that still hold the boards.

The Metropolitan's production of *Le Prophète* is surely welcome, even though it obscures some of the opera's visual and dramatic features—precisely those features that we cannot apprehend from the new Columbia recording (with the Met principals and conductor; Columbia M4 34340, four discs, $27.92). Scribe's five-act plan has been reduced to three by combining his first three acts into one; even though his third act is considerably cut, this makes for a long sit. And Peter Wexler's unit set, though varied by lighting and the introduction of insets, obscures the alternation of indoor and outdoor scenes, with their very different ambiances, that the librettist planned so carefully. With one of the world's larger stages, the Met should be able to mount a coronation scene of broad and splendid effect; instead everything is squeezed forward—and underpopulated both visually and sonically.

Still, some things come off rather well. The costumes, at least, are lavish and colorful. The opening scene, in which three opportunistic Anabaptists rouse the peasant population, is one of Meyerbeer's better numbers, with a stirring chorale refrain. The last-act duet of reconciliation between the innkeeper Jean, deluded into believing himself a holy prophet, and his mother Fidès, builds impressively over a repeated rhythmic figure. The three principal singers are all in the right vocal league, at least, though their actual accomplishments miss the ideal by some distance. Marilyn Horne (Fidès) tired badly on opening night, and this seemed to affect her expressive commitment as well as her singing. Renata Scotto (Berthe, Jean's sweetheart) had so much commitment that it ran away with her singing; by the evening's end, she was all over the place except on the right pitches (she's better on the recording). James McCracken's strenuous fervor was not inappropriate for the innkeeper-prophet, suggesting a complexity of character that neither

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Scribe nor Meyerbeer bothered to write into the role, but his efforts at soft singing sounded like—well, efforts. Henry Lewis judged the tempos well and secured good playing from the orchestra (better than he gets from the Royal Philharmonic on the recording, which includes all of the skating ballet that the Met abridged, and then played rather clumsily). Depressing was most of the singing in smaller roles; the inability of the three Anabaptists to sing their chorale in true unison was all too characteristic of current casting in the house.

Prophète is surely worth seeing. It tells us a lot about the taste of our forebears, though we cannot help but conclude that the best of Meyerbeer is to be heard in other people's operas. On stage, it works in ways that could not be anticipated from a mere hearing of the recording—and one can see that it would have worked still better had it been staged in the style for which it was intended. □

A FRIEND IN HOSPITAL

Already the small leaves,
the yellow and the red,
while the green still glows.

Season of raptors.
The hawks are moving.
I would send her

whatever she will,
this prayer if need be
against breath and blood.

M.L. Rosenthal

FILMS

ROBERT HATCH

Harlan County, U.S.A. documents a dark subject, but it is far from being a dark picture. Barbara Kopple's record of the year and more struggle whereby the coal miners, and notably their wives and mothers, won a United Mine Workers contract from the Brookside mine (parent company, Duke Power) is, among other things, a celebration of human excellence. The mining families of Harlan County are a deprived and abused people—you have only to see their teeth to know it. But a sad or beaten people they are not; on the contrary, they are vivid, eloquent, quick of body and mind, and witty. Needless to say, they are ill-educated, but by force of intelligence they go an astonishing way to overcome the lack.

I don't know how it comes about, this feeling of quality that springs from person after person as the cameras turn toward them. Of course, Ms. Kopple and her crew lived close to these families in the months of their grinding, mortally dangerous struggle, came to respect and love them, and reflect these feelings in their photography. You cannot, however, evoke a sense of group élan from dolts; the people, in their pain and triumph, speak for themselves. In part, their history sustains them. They are the heirs, sometimes the survivors, of "Bloody Harlan," and it is a banner they fly to rally themselves. Beyond that, and though I am no geneticist, it occurs to me that natural selection may have been at work. As they have been run for generations, the coal mines are killers—only the remarkably able of mind and body survive long enough to be struck down by black lung. So it may be that the owners, largely absentee owners, by decades of utter indifference to the lives of their workers, have contributed to the breeding of an indomitable clan. That is how it looks and, though it may be unscientific, it has the attraction of irony.

Harlan County is an overtly partisan film. Its cameras are always with the pickets, facing the straw bosses and the scabs; wooden staves against handguns. The rallies and strategy meetings of the miners are bubbling with the personalities of men and women one comes to know and with whom one cannot fail to identify; the meetings of the owners and their surrogates are formal, gray with dispassionate cruelty. It is partisan, but I think not distorted. Tony Boyle is given his say; can the cameras make him anything but obscene? If a Duke Power executive is prepared to doubt publicly that the dust in the mines produces black lung, what can be offered to "balance" his view? Even an official of the U.S. Bureau of Mines admits that Great Britain, Germany, Holland and the other industrial countries mine coal without slaughtering miners, and acknowledges that his agency carries a large share of the blame. The Brookside foreman, driving his pickup truck through the pickets with a gun in his hand is no actor—he is in very truth a frightening man. His side kills; the other side could kill as well, but it does not.

It could be objected that the film concentrates on the human story at the expense of the underlying economic changes. When praising the resolution and bravery that won the Brookside miners their contract, it should perhaps have mentioned that the sudden shift back to coal, in the wake of inflated oil prices, has put the men in the strongest position they have enjoyed for at least a generation. And in the closing half hour or so of the film, after Arnold Miller becomes president of the UMW and the industry is hit by a series of strikes, primarily over safety and benefits, the chronology blurs. The intent of the editing is to suggest that the miners' war is never won; that may well be true, but the argument is not cogent.

However that may be, *Harlan County* attains its main goal—to honor a segment of our society which the rest of America has been willing to write off as underdogs, victims sacrificed to the imperatives of an industrial nation. It is a shock to discover that these expendable, burrowing creatures are in fact as splendid a people as the country can show. Ms. Kopple found a great cast; she has made a film worthy of her company and their story. □

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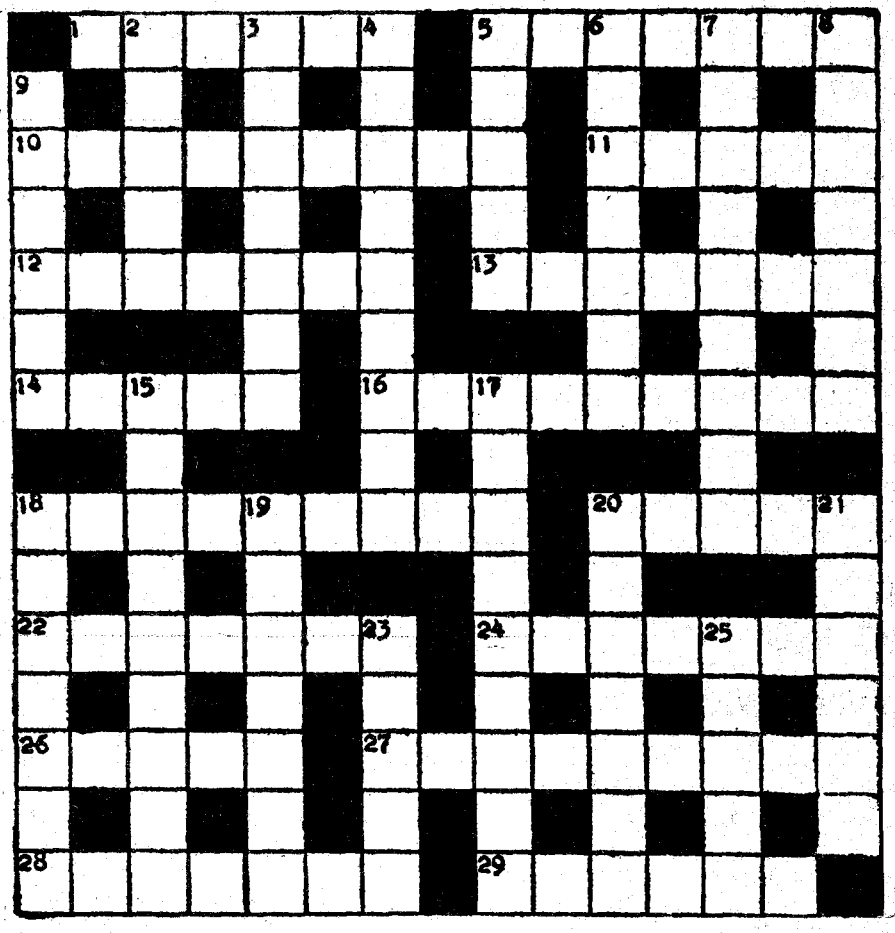

ACROSS

1 and 5 Descriptive of the wear of what flyers and sailors don't like? (6,7)
10 The head of 3 in re-edited pictures of the Bible stories. (9)
11 A gesture of unconcern. (5)
12 Testifying to a number due. (7)
13 Real VIP treatment could show you how to win. (7)
14 Cut in up-to-date (yet dated) fashion around us. (5)
16 Tune to A, for example—it will probably make for rapid communication. (3,6)
18 An unhitching process. (9)
20 Something one might draw (or draw on) when unpleasant growth returns. (5)
22 How to get back at poets in old jackets. (7)
24 Possibly be equal, even. (7)
26 How to make the second son point to a poplar. (5)
27 Tried fast turns, but finally turned loose. (3,6)
28 and 29 What one does with some calendar pads daily, as a way to get the rest. (4,3,3,3)

DOWN

2 Trunk roots, possibly. (5)
3 Came back with a pile heaped up in colorful surroundings. (7)
4 The nice movement you have may be due the archbishop. (4,5)
5 One quarter with some assistance from the little dog. (5)
6 It's hard to make us a tree, that's plain and simple! (7)
7 It's heaven to some, being present later. (9)
8 Orderly, as found in the army. (7)
9 and 18 down Comfortable, though it starts with a lot of bees taking a toss at the end, possibly. (2,4,2,5)
15 Turn a jail escape into a form of protection. (9)
17 Acted like the host again turned back. (9)
18 See 9 down
19 A big little thoroughfare—certainly the biggest here. (7)
20 How the old woman's children were whipped! (7)
21 Sounds like what one does if you get to 28-29, but twists the real meaning. (6)
23 She certainly confuses the issue! (5)
25 Coward's meeting so described, in short. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1664

ACROSS: 1 Narrow escape; 9 Abe Lincoln; 10 Ella; 11 Trainers; 12 Unlace; 13 Endor; 15 Reenters; 16 Insomnia; 19 Magic; 21 Otters; 22 Glorious; 24 Nice; 25 Relativity; 26 French Pastry. DOWN: 2 Albert Einstein; 3 Rallied; 4 Wince; 5 Sponsor; 6 Ad nauseum; 7 Eye-slit; 8 Electric guitar; 14 Rings true; 17 Oneself; 18 Angelic; 20 Grieves; 23 On top.

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